

INDIA
From
Primitive Communism
to
Slavery

by
S. A. DANGE

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TO TAI
Who Stood By Me
All These Years Through Everything

Other works by the author

GANDHI VERSUS LENIN

HELL FOUND

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

As the author of this book has been under detention since April, 1948 we could not have the much needed benefit of consultations with him regarding final revision of proofs, etc. Hence we are afraid some inaccuracies might have crept in which could have otherwise been corrected. We sincerely hope that the reader will excuse us considering the circumstances under which we are forced to publish this much valuable book.

— PUBLISHERS

PREFACE

This book was mainly drafted in Yeravada Jail in the period of October 1942 to January 1943

Hence some of the limitations that the reader will find in the treatment of the subject

I have not been able to deal with the subject with all the fullness it requires and I could not use or cite all the data that is available in the ancient Sanskrit literature in original or the digest of such literature by modern scholars

I hope someone better equipped than myself will be able to do it for our working class

I had no intention of writing this book at the time I did. It arose as a result of the innumerable questions which the political prisoners around me in Yeravada Jail at that time raised and wanted me to answer

The battle of Stalingrad was in full swing then, and questions of War, Socialism, Class-struggle, the Superiority of the Soviet System etc were hot in the air

Why do wars take place, how to differentiate one war from another, what are classes, what is the State, what distinguishes one State from another, how to abolish wars once for all, will mankind always require a State and Government, how to solve the problem of poverty, etc, etc

For a short while I had been permitted to mix with Congress prisoners. We had talks and I found that unless I went to the root of the matter and gave them an outline of the rise of the classes and State in Indian Society from the view point of historical materialism, they would not be satisfied. They were fresh young men who were eager to learn and understand

But soon certain events took place and our association with each other was cut off by the British jailors

After my release from Jail, I left for Europe for the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the book was relegated to the background. The claims of the day-to-day working-class struggles were more pressing

During the country-wide searches of the offices of the Communist Party and Trade Unions and homes of Communists, ordered by Sardar Patel, Home Member of the Government of India on January 14, 1947 in connection with the booklet "Operation Asylum," a publication which revealed the British Government's

military operational plans against the Indian people a part of this manuscript and its notes were carried away by the Police probably mistaking the Sanskrit quotations as some code language. But fortunately the papers were afterwards returned.

And lastly the question—is it necessary to spend one's time on such a subject since the present volume deals only with the Origin of Family Private Property Classes and the State in ancient India?

The readers will excuse me if in answer I quote an extract from Lenin.

In his lecture to the students of the Sverdlov University in 1919 on the State Lenin said

"the question is so complex and has been so confused by bourgeois scholars and writers that anybody who desires to study this question seriously and to master it independently must attack it several times return to it again and again and consider the question from various angles in order to obtain a clear and definite understanding of it. And it will be all the easier to return to this question because it is such a fundamental such a basic question of all politics and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times you will come across this question in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question."

(Marx Engels Marxism Moscow Ed. p. 431)

In referring to the confusion created by representatives of bourgeois science on this subject, Lenin says

Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who reject with disgust the suggestion that they are under the sway of religious prejudices and are convinced that they can regard the State with sober eyes. This question has been so confused and complicated because it affects the interests of the ruling classes more than any other (Yielding in this respect 'only to the foundations of Economic Science) "

(Marx Engels Marxism, Moscow Ed , p 425)

Our Mensheviks and Socialists might note!

Telling the students how to approach the question, Lenin says:

"To approach the question as scientifically as possible we must cast at least a fleeting glance back on the history of the rise and development of the State. The most reliable thing in a question of Social Science and one that is most necessary in order really to acquire the habit of approaching this question correctly and not allowing oneself to get lost in the mass of detail or in the immense variety of conflicting opinions—the most important thing in order to approach the question scientifically is not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what principal stages this phenomenon passed through in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what the given thing has become today "

(Marx Engels Marxism, Moscow Ed , p 426)

And proceeding further, he says:

"I hope that in connection with the question of the State you will acquaint yourself with Engels' book—THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE. This is one of the fundamental works of modern socialism ."

(Marx Engels Marxism, Moscow Ed , p 426)

That is why as the reader will notice, this book closely follows the above mentioned work of Engels, in dealing with the same subject in Indian history, which unfortunately, Engels had not enough sources to do, when he wrote his celebrated work

In this preface, I do not wish to discuss the sources I have used or make a thankful reference to the numerous friends who provided me with books etc I will leave that for the second volume, if ever it gets the chance to see the light of the day

Introductory

Contemporary Lines of Studies in Indian History

INDIA IS ONE OF THOSE COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, WHICH BECAME CENTRES OF MAN'S CIVILISATION, IN THE MOST ANCIENT TIMES. IT IS ONE OF THE SEVEN COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, WHERE FOOD-PLANTS ORIGINATED,¹ WERE PICKED UP BY MAN AND CULTURED AND SPREAD. IT IS YET AN UNSOLVED QUESTION, AS TO WHERE PRIMEVAL MAN DIFFERENTIATED FROM THE FOUR-FOOTED ANIMAL, BECAME THE TOOL-MAKING TWO-HANDED SOCIAL MAN, FOUGHT WILD NATURE, SURVIVED AND GREW WORLD OVER. REMNANTS OF SKULLS AND BONES OF ANCIENT MAN, WHICH LEAD ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN THE TRACK OF EARLY MAN, HAVE BEEN FOUND IN CHINA, JAVA, EUROPE, AFRICA, ETC. AND THOSE WHO WOULD WANT INDIA ALSO TO SHARE IN THAT "HONOUR," WOULD POINT TO THE SIVALIK HILLS² AND RESEARCHES THERE AROUND TO GIVE US A SHARE OF THAT SEMI-MAN, SEMI-ANIMAL, TO COMPLETE OUR CLAIM TO BE AN ANCIENT CRADLE OF HUMAN ORIGINS AND CIVILISATION. INDIAN HISTORIANS OF INDIA ARE VERY PARTICULAR ON THIS POINT OF OUR ANCIENTHOOD AND THE AGE OF OUR CIVILISATION.

INDIAN WRITERS AND HISTORIANS HAD ALMOST DEVELOPED A CRAZE TO PROVE THAT NOT ONLY WERE WE ANCIENT BUT THAT EVERYTHING THAT NOW EXISTS IN THE WORLD, AS PART OF CIVILISATION,

¹ Cf. Vavilov, N.I., in *Science At Cross-Roads*

² F. B. S. Anthropology

was once with us and we knew it all—in science philosophy, politics, etc. If Kant was great in philosophy, our Sankara was one greater if Shakespeare was great in literature our Kalidas was one greater, if you had Rousseau's social contract in politics, we too had one like it. We had aeroplanes, railways, explosives and what not. And we had all this, when the English or Europeans were wearing bearskins!

That last idea was the real driving force of our historians. We dug up our ancient walls and moats, our *bhoorjapatras* and *papyri* to build a defence against the foreign enemy who was trying to annihilate us. History was used by the English rulers of India to demoralise the rising freedom movement, to build a psychosis in the leadership of the people that compared to world history its age its achievement India and its people were nowhere and whatever of its history was known led to one conclusion that this country and its people were historically destined to be always conquered and ruled by foreign invaders. Geography climate and culture inevitably doomed us to this fate. Serious and responsible historians of *Cambridge History* and other works propagated this thesis. In order to fight it our historians went to prove that India's history really almost begins world history of present man that the Aryan who today peoples this land spread out from the Arctic regions several thousand years ago and in India he produced the best of everything that man could or will ever do again. He refuses to be annihilated.

Such militant history writing had its use no doubt in the struggle against the British power. But just as it gave the Indian Nationalist a certain morale it also gave him a false sense of values regarding the past and made him venerate everything that was of the past but had ceased

Fraser Introduction to Ancient History

Tilak Aretle Home in the *Vedas*. It says that by his theory he has shown that "The interglacial Aryan civilisation and culture must have been of a higher type than is usually supposed to be and that there is no reason why the primitive Aryans should not be placed on an equal footing with the prehistoric inhabitants of Egypt on point of culture & civilisation" (1923 Edition, p. 481)

to be of use in the present, or had become a positive hindrance.

Students of history today will be amused to read the millions of words spent in arguing, for example, whether the death of Afzal Khan at the hands of Shivaji was moral or not, whether it was ordinary "murder," "assassination" or a permissible kill in the battle. The celebrated volume of Jayaswal on ancient *Hindu-Polity* was written with the motive to refute the assertions of the British ruling class that India was unfit for parliamentary democratic institutions, by showing that ancient India had republics and "self-governing democracies". The English spoke as the inheritors of the civilisation of Greece and Rome, claimed the first place in ancient civilisation for them and for Egypt and Palestine, they denied that the *Mahabharat* had any meaning or reality, that the *Vedas* of the Hindus were a historical record or that our history could go beyond that of the Greeks, whose Alexander conquered some parts of India.

Our intelligentsia chafed. We had no papyrus Prisse to prove our age, no pyramids of Gizeh, a real massive record, nor mummies of Akhnaton and Tutankhamen, no towns dug up like Ur and Babylon to speak for us. The archaeological department of a foreign Power was not interested in that. Independently of the support from the State or the rich in the land, our historians toiled to collect their own records. The copper-plates of kings recording gifts to Brahmins, stone-engravings, coins and writings such as on the Asoka Pillars, were collected to unravel the past. Astronomical observations in religious textbooks pushed historical memory to even 3,000 or 4,000 B C. But it was not given the credence of history.⁶

Until at last a real town was found and dug out, that of Mohanjo Daro in Sindh, which led even the European

⁶ See *Orion* by Tilak, *Vedanga Jyotish* by Dixit, and the discussions on the date of the Bharat War and the *Vedas* by several authors. The European writers had assigned 1,500 B C as the earliest date for the *Vedas* and 1,000 B C for the Bharat War. On the other hand, the Sumerian, Egyptian and other antiquities were dated between 4,000 to 6,000 B C.

geois faction in relation to its approach to the problem of struggle against imperialism, and

secondly according to the attitude of the exploiting class, of the landlord bourgeois combine in India, towards the exploited millions of the country, who were bond-slaves both of the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie

The problem of finding a method and platform to combat the British conquest raised the question as to why the English succeeded in defeating the Mughals and the Marathas, especially the latter with whom alone the British had to wage the final serious battles for the conquest of India. The powerful conquerors of India before the British were the Mughals, whom the Marathas, under the leadership of Shivaji, had succeeded in defeating. Why then the Marathas failed against the British and why had they succeeded against the Mughals? Answers to these two questions should be enough to suggest new ways and means, to achieve freedom from the new conqueror. Writers on history plunged with great vigour and spirit into these questions. The Maratha Mughal relations being still fresh in men's mind and being still a part of social reality the middle-class intelligentsia and the bourgeois-nationalist press devoted great attention to the solution of the problem.

The paucity of material and the obstruction put by the foreign rulers hampered even historical studies a great deal. The authorities refused to open the archives of the Maratha courts for study by the students of history. The princely houses surviving on the ruins of the Marathas and the Mughals, loyal to the new masters and in fear of losing their ill gotten rulerships refused to open their archives. Big feudal landlord and baron houses shunned the historians. Because all these three were afraid of the skeletons in their cupboards, afraid to let the people know the secrets of their past. Yet the persistence of the students did yield some material. And then began the real skirmishes and battles.

Long before the Indian writers could speak of any history British writers using the material that came their

way during the course of their conquest and plunder, had already produced some works on Indian history Elphinstone, Grant, Duff, Briggs, Todd, Moreland, etc had produced their volumes, on the basis of which the world was already being "educated" in Indian history.

The Indian writers who came after them had to begin by combating their perversions, wrong delineations and understanding of Indian events and history. But when it came to presenting their own viewpoint, the results were not less confusing or more flattering. They led to certain conclusions, which the liberal bourgeoisie later on tried to use as its platform for the future.

Leaving aside the voluminous research publications, if we only take a few of the representative works, we can easily see what view our bourgeois intelligentsia took of Indian history, which was supposed to lead them in the future battles with the new enemy.

M G Ranade, the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, wrote *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, trying to lay bare the springs that gave success to the Maratha rising under Shivaji. In 1918, on the centenary of the fall of the Peshwas, N C Kelkar, a famous essayist and scholar of the liberal school, wrote *The Marathas and the English*, trying to analyse where the latter scored over the former. V K. Rajwade poured out volumes of research material on the Maratha defeat at Panipat, the driving force of Shivaji's rising, the caste squabbles and personal intrigues of the Maratha courts, the armaments and technique of the English, etc. Major Basu did a volume on the *Rise of Christian Power in India*. And there were a number of books on the Independence War of 1857. The conclusions formed by each of these typical writers will show us the way history was being understood by the rising intelligentsia of our country—conclusions which were to be a guide for the future battles.

Ranade made the saints and their sects of the 16th and 17th centuries, their religious fervour and attack on the established corrupt priesthood of Hindu society, as the prime mover of the Maratha rising. He saw religion as the driving force of history and likened the Bhakti schools of that period

to the European Reformation against Catholicism and the consequent rise of the new States and society in Europe. Of course the process had to be assisted by the genius of a leader like Shivaji Rajwade and others held religion as the driving force but differed as to the personalities (Ramdas or Shivaji, etc.) who were the exponents or representatives of this rebirth of a nation. The peculiar genius of the Marathas, embodied in what he called Maharashtra Dharma was also made one of the forces of history. When it came to finding reasons for defeat at the hands of the British, curiously the retreat of religion was not made the main cause of the fall. Possibly because the English did no furnish conversion to Christianity and religious blessings of their God as the force that put them on the waves and dropped India in their laps. Kelkar found the reasons to be mainly in the absence of that cohesive element called national patriotism and in the extreme love of individualist separatism that characterised the Marathas. The English were the opposite of this and hence they won. Why the virtues appeared among the British in the 17th and 18th centuries, which apparently they had not before as their own history tells us, nobody tried to explain. Basu's imposing tome attributed the successes of the British to their total lack of truthfulness and extensive use of treachery and corruption, which the Indian rulers unfortunately could not combat. Thus the whole movement of history was conditioned by men's ideas, the virtues and vices of statesmen and leaders. The millions of the toiling people the march of their social organisms through ages—all were subject to the whims and prejudices, moral ideas or religious faith of the "heroes," "Gurus" "Avatars" of history. Some found its motive powers in rare individuals some in the inherent characteristics of this or that caste or race.

But how on earth these ideas, values morals or faiths arose grew and vanished and were born again, and why the same set of ideas in one country defeated the same set in another was left to chance accident, fate. So ultimately society was left with no hope of planning and controlling its own fate or the future!

Our historians who followed this strain were only

imitating their own foreign teachers on whose products of learning they were brought up. They were disciples of Carlyle, Burke, Bentham, Green and Hegel. The idealist, fatalist views of history, which these philosophers of the bourgeoisie applied to their own country's history, were picked up by our historians and applied to us here in those very forms. And these learned men of India were not averse to accepting the bourgeois science of history from the schools of their very conquerors inasmuch as society in India itself was now being pulverised and refashioned in the image of the bourgeoisie of the conquering imperialist countries.

As we mentioned above, the churning of the immediate pre-British period did yield a political and social platform to the rising bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia. Those who would blame everything on the masses, held the cure of their superstitions and narrow caste feelings as the prime condition for the regeneration of the country. Those who held feudal separatism as the cause of the defeat, called for a united national patriotism, transcending the boundaries of feudal family pride and interests. As the masses were but inert clay, moulded and enlivened by the ideas and example of the "hero", the "leader" or the "Avatar", in history they had no other role except to trust, obey and follow.

Even factional quarrels were justified from history. The Non-Brahmin Party pleaded that the victorious Marathas lost when led by the Brahmins, the Peshwas. Hence any political leadership where the Brahmins had a hand was suspect. The Kayasthas fought Brahmins, who quoted past history against them in which even Sanskrit philology was used as a weapon. The scheduled-castes formulated their platform, beginning with their role in the Koregaon battle⁶ and ending with the denunciation of the *Manusmriti*, the social-political code of the Hindus.

Past history was thus being read in order to help and justify the present slogans and platform of political parties.

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⁶ Where the Peshwas fought the British and lost. The Mahar Battalions of the British were a great force in this battle and to them is attributed the British victory in that battle.

Lessons from the past victories and defeats were supposed to help the present. This shows how history was being read with a purpose and with a definite partisan attitude by the bourgeois intelligentsia, in which the millions of the masses had no role except to toil and fight for this or that hero.

But soon our bourgeois philosophers of past history and bourgeois leadership of contemporary history found that they could not help each other much. The political and social realities, the upheavals of this period, were something totally new in history which past experience could not explain. Babar and Akbar, Shivaji and Peshwas the saints and sadhus of those days of 16th and 17th centuries, their politics and society had nothing in common with Victoria and Palmerstone, Churchills and the Y.M.C.A., Tilak and Gandhi, or Marx Lenin and Stalin of 19th and 20th centuries. Where was history then to help its makers with the steam engine and telegraph, the world market and crisis, strikes and revolutions? True courageous professors were not wanting who tried to discover banking and rate of interest even in Rigveda parliamentary voting in Buddha-Viharas cartels and combines in Chanakya, and so on. But social political reality laughed at these attempts. The colossal all-world-embracing capitalist industrial revolution of our epoch was a thing nowhere heard of in history. So also the toiling masses of ancient and medieval history could not have dreamt of the mighty doings of the world proletariat of our epoch out to become the ruling class and transform world society out of poverty to plenty for all time to come! Entirely new forces new classes new people sprung up into existence, to guide whom to understand whom the science of history of the bourgeois historians Indian and foreign could provide no laws. Political history as studied by the old authors ceased to be a living guide.

The careering of the bourgeoisie throughout the world for conquest of markets and raw materials for investment and super profit had made the world for the first time a single entity. Modern imperialism and its requirements were entirely different from those of Alexander Salar Khan and the Marathas.

subject in the national-political struggles after the crisis of the first world war⁸

An outstanding work on Indian history has scarcely been produced in the last twenty years, compared to what was poured out in the late 19th and early 20th century. Instead of a bold, scientific and revolutionary understanding of history, blind people thought that they had acquired a vision, when merely confused vacillating *Glimpses of History* were given to them and sighs about *Glory that was Ind*

Not that work on history had altogether ceased. There were historians and historical institutions engaged in the task of collecting material, on research and interpretation. But the driving force had ceased to be the necessity to find inspiration and platform for the struggle against imperialism from the past. The national movement led by the bourgeoisie had evolved its political platform of "constitutional demands" and its economic platform of freedom to develop "national industry". In this field, Irish, American and English histories were more to its use than the edicts of Asoka, Akbar or the Peshwa Daftars. The poor research scholars, deprived of Government support or the patronage of their own bourgeoisie, managed to scrape out a living somehow.

But if political history waned in its influence, the new situation, developing out of the crisis of imperialism and bourgeois nationalism, called for another orientation in historical studies. It was now *social history*, raising the question of relation of classes in social economy and politics, the question of the entire movement for social revolution, that called forth the attention of the bourgeoisie and its intelligentia⁹

⁸ When India was drawn into the orbit of world revolution and its toiling masses lifted the banner of the democratic revolution

⁹ Cf Works on Race and Caste in India, Origin of State, History of Marriage, Education in Ancient India, Banking, Law and Revenue, Social Organisation in Mahabharat Times, Ancient Trade and Manufactures, Cultural Relations between the Arabs and the Hindus, etc by several authors such as Ghurye, Dutta, Beniprasad, Rajwade, Bhargava, Altekar, Ghoshal, Vaidya, Fick, and so on

national bourgeoisie only bargaining for its share of profits when standing in the front of national freedom and hampering its revolutionary growth? Was the national struggle then an aspect of class struggle? Is national revolution then a process of class struggles? Have all national-political struggles a class basis? The working class demanded an answer from the bourgeois intelligentsia, and from its own leadership that was newly arising in its midst—that of the Communists.

On the continent of Europe where the bourgeoisie and the people had national freedom, the same question was raised in different forms. When feudal lords and kings were overthrown, autocracy destroyed, vast powers of production developed and unheard of wealth rolled off the machines and democracy voted and decided who was to rule the State, how was it that crisis of unemployment visited people, famine in the midst of plenty overtook the toilers and whole society except the rich? What was the way out? There then, new historians, philosophers of history, arose who found the answer for the working class. They went to the root of the matter and asked how does human society arise and grow from epoch to epoch? What is the driving force of its rise and growth, of its evolutions and revolutions? Bourgeois science had failed to give the answer. They had already said that the problem of the poor and rich, of the ruler and ruled of the strong and weak, of the leader and led the hero and the followers existed from eternity and will always exist. It was man's fate the original sin of Creation or God's will.

The working class refused to accept that conclusion. Marx and Engels analysed the history of social growth and found the law that governs development of history the famous law of historical materialism the dialectical and materialist understanding of history.

According to this theory the development of society the condition in which men find themselves or make for themselves does not arise out of the good or bad ideas of this or that man hero or *Avatar* nor natural geographical surroundings, nor from God's will. History is neither a predestined mechanistic movement nor does it move in a

circle like the water-wheel, which fills in and drains out at the hands of the ever toiling historical Ass—called Man. Man evolved out of material Nature and in order to live has to fight with it, has first to fight for food, shelter, clothing, etc, etc. That is the primary activity. Therein his condition is determined by the productive forces, the tools, the instruments of production that he develops. Man arises as social man, and his social structure, i.e., his relations with one another, are basically conditioned by the productive forces. These relations are production relations and the given society in the given epoch is recognised by its mode of production and is demarcated from others by that characteristic. That determines the political structure, morals, philosophy, emotions, art, etc of the society. All these have their origin in that foundation called the mode of production of a society. But that does not mean that they by themselves, once arisen, do not effect the base or do not have independent role and value. They have. They help to change, modify, alter the structure of society, but on condition that the base, i.e., the productive forces, has ripened for the change.

Human history has seen five stages of social organisation, all rising or vanishing according to the changes in the productive forces. These stages are known as primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist. From each to the next, man has progressed to a higher phase of living and thinking. From each to the other, man had to progress through revolution and struggle. In the first phase, society was not divided in classes, had no private property, had no class struggles, no rich and poor, no State, no kings, no internal civil war but had enough of tribal wars. As instruments of production grew, private property and classes arose. Since then all history is history of class struggles, leading to slave society, feudal society, capitalist society and, finally, socialist society wherein classes are finally abolished on the basis of the highest development of productive forces and social wealth. Then history ceases to be blind class struggle and man becomes complete master of his destiny. The modern instruments of production make that possible and inevitable.

The struggle for the final phase began in the late 19th century, and the class that by its role in production will accomplish this historical task is the working class.

Marxism destroyed the concept of history as a jumble of accidents, of ideas, and reduced it to science a verifiable law giving man a consciousness to plan existence and the future abolish fate and misery

According to this theory where forces were ripe the European working class carried out the revolution in several countries, established the Soviet Union and Socialism, leading the way for toiling humanity

According to this theory the conquest of India and such other conquests by the European American or other nations in the present epoch are conquests on behalf of the interests of the bourgeoisie of these countries, their necessity for markets for export of capital for new fields of exploitation. Small capital by fattening on labour by ruining its own class brothers in competition on the market, concentrates itself centralises technique grows gigantic into world wide monopolies and conquers colonies. Capitalist conquest of a colony generates there again the same relations, if it is not already a capitalist country, generates there a national bourgeoisie, which confronts the monopoly imperialist conqueror with competition and claims for a "living space in the world of profit." Along with it is also born the working class, the bearer of the revolution. That gives birth to the national struggle. But as soon as the working class and the toiling masses claim their right to live the national bourgeoisie deserts the people goes over to the camp of imperialism strikes a deal with it and turns against its own people i.e., suppresses their revolts to grow out of slavery into real freedom from exploitation into Socialism.

When the working class of a country has grown to the consciousness of its historical role and begins to organise with its new ideology the bourgeoisie besides suppressing it with violence, tries to corrupt it with its own ideology in every possible way. One of these ways is to teach the worker wrong history to give him a picture of history as will tie him to the tail of the bourgeoisie and make him believe and defend the bourgeois social order or the be

one, as the inevitable one, as the permanent, eternal, God-given, most moral and happy one The bourgeoisie presents the Communist conception of history and future society as utopian, unreal, immoral, unnatural, anti-human nature and ruinous In order to do this, the bourgeois intelligentsia dives again into history, hypnotises the rising worker with the idealist, metaphysical picture of social growth and denies the dialectical materialist picture of social growth

That is what the bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia started to do with Indian history when after 1920-30 the Indian working class appeared in the arena of political-social struggles with its own banner, its own slogans, its own party and programme as against that of the national bourgeoisie, and raised the question as to who really made the nation and for whom really was freedom and democracy meant

One of the ideological arguments the bourgeoisie used against the rising Communist movement in India was that whatever the case in Europe and other countries, India and its culture, its people and history were peculiar to themselves, that they did not answer to any of the laws of Marxism-Leninism

And they dived into the story of the *Vedas*, *Smritis*, *Upanishadas*, Epics and *Puranas*, and as evidence of their theory held forth for view the powerful systems of castes, the saintly kings on thrones and kingly saints in forests, all surviving through thousands of years, as nowhere else, and turned round and asked the Communists where are all these according to your law of historical materialism? India had no primitive communism, no collective property and matriarchy, no communes, she has no history of their break-up and rise of private property and State, classes and class wars, slavery and feudalism, as you call them, taking their turns in her history Yes, we have capitalism now, the cursed gift of the English and their machine, but our capitalism has its distinctly Indian virtue Hence we need not inevitably go over to Socialism through class struggles and revolution We shall have a new product of our own, Gandhian Socialism, and belie your law of Communism, of your historical materialism, in the future, as the special destiny of India belied it in the past

It is with that purpose that now history is being studied and written, the social political history of India, to deny class struggle, to make the exploited classes bear with their exploitation and poverty with the solace of class peace, collaboration and spiritual uplift.

The bourgeoisie of Europe and America tried hard to suppress the Marxian view of history, first by simply calling it false but having failed there they tried to misrepresent and corrupt it. The continually recurring crises of the bourgeois social order forced its intelligentsia to recognise the dominance of social-economic activity in the life of man and society and the absence of crises from the Soviet Union, and its effect on people's mind throughout the world, forced the bourgeoisie to accept class struggles and Socialism as part of their philosophy of history also. But they accept it in order to corrupt it and thus defeat it. They admit that class struggle exists, that Socialism is better than capitalism, but they deny that the logical outcome of class struggle is to fight and overthrow the bourgeoisie establish the working class as the ruling class, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat against the exploiting classes and fullest democracy for the toiling people, which alone can put the instruments of production land and factories in the hands of society and build up Socialism and a classless society of peace and plenty.

They deny these political and economic conclusions of class struggle the inevitable conclusions of dialectics of history. They now admit the aims of the working class in order to worm into the bosom of that class and disarm it in practice in strategy and tactics, so as to protect their class rule from its attack. They turn to Indian history and say with us historical changes have always been done by spiritual conviction, by peace by all classes agreeing to shed their vices and greed. The Indian is not like the Russian or the French or any other whose experience of struggle towards Socialism and democracy you may like to quote" And in order to prove this they approach the

¹⁸ Hence the consistent development of class struggle is the root of establishing the proletarian State and proletarian democracy is not necessary for Indian conditions

worker and the peasant with bright happy stories of the Hindu and Muslim past and exploit his present ignorance and ideology to cheat him of his future.

Thus history again is used by the ruling class in the post-British period for its selfish, narrow class interest, for partisan ends

In the early period the bourgeoisie used history for its class interests against the British in the name of the nation and appeared as the champion of all the people and their interests. Threatened by the rising working-class movement with exposure of its betrayal of the people's interests to win its selfish class interests, it is using history again to defend itself against the social revolution and disarm it ideologically by a false theory of social development.

We are not concerned just now with the discussion of the political events of contemporary history in India and their evaluation. We are showing how with the changing political and social situation, history is being made to serve reaction instead of social progress which is its true role.

Through history man has risen from savagery to civilisation and it is the task of the philosophy of history to discover the law which governed this social growth of man through ages, so that he may rise still higher and build for himself a better world. India is now in an epoch where its working class is faced with a serious responsibility towards Indian and world society. To discharge that responsibility, the working class must sharply break away from the bourgeois view of history, before that view has gripped the people to their roots.

As yet there has neither been a serious presentation of Indian history from the point of view of historical materialism, nor a serious refutation of such a view. That the Marxists have their own views on Indian history and explain it in terms of historical materialism, in terms of class struggles and so on, is generally known. But that is not due to any studied work on Indian history by any Marxist.

With the bourgeoisie in power, the threat to adulteration of Indian history has grown serious. In the last few years, bourgeois scholars have indirectly tried to barbwire history from any materialist attacks, but unfortunately for them,

the very ancienthood of India, the persistence of its social organism, its undying village communities, their memory and records have proved the undoing of these historians. Nowhere in the world is there such a rich record of changes and revolutions in social organisation as amongst the Hindus. (For convenience of treatment and understanding I take ancient history of India as the history of the Hindus.) The record is so frank, sometimes so cruelly frank, that the Hindu leadership of the Indian bourgeoisie is forced to deny its truthfulness, declare it as fiction, or wriggle out of it somehow. Innumerable practices, incidents, examples, traditions and laws recorded in the religious-social literature of Hindu society baffle the bourgeois historian for explanation. The laws of marriage, the origin of respected heroes and holy heads from what appear to be "queer marriages," the laws of property of inheritance, of common rights of property, the behaviour of kings, theory of origin of the State, property and family as given in "holy books" of the Hindus baffle the bourgeois historian—so much so that a vast number of them are denied as fiction or allegory. Faced with social facts (not myths) which do not square up with bourgeois notions of what ought to be, several scholars denounced the whole *Mahabharat* to be a fiction or at best an allegory. It is my firm opinion that the vast store house of Hindu mythology and religious social laws and practices, if read and sifted on the basis of historical materialism would yield a consistent and rational picture of India's ancient history, though it will not be to the liking of the Hindu orthodoxy or bourgeois philosophy. It will then appear that the law of historical materialism, the law that productive forces and production relations determine man's history through the ages, is valid for India too, for the past, the present and the future.

The most difficult period for treatment and understanding is that of primitive communism and its break up, followed by the rise of private property classes and class struggles the origin of family and State stepping into the period of slavery. The transition of this condition to that of Asiatic feudalism on the basis of the famous oriental village community and castes is comparatively easy to

unravel A very deep understanding of historical materialism and very wide research work by Marxist scholars is essential before a comprehensive picture of these periods can be presented. Very painstaking studies of this early period depicted in the religious books of the Hindus have been carried out by bourgeois scholars, who have tried to apply what they call "the sociological point of view" to rites and myths in order to give us an idea of the social organism of the period But just as they failed in Europe in the matter of the Greeks, the Romans and the Teutons, until Marx and Engels took hold of the material and put history on its feet, so have they in India also.

Even these attempts at a sociological peep into the ancient records have been hampered by Hindu orthodoxy and the Indian bourgeoisie (whether Hindu or Muslim), because certain social facts militate against their present conceptions of morality and ethics and hence they object to their being mentioned as part of past history. They cannot bear the "shame" that such things existed once in history. When the famous historian Rajwade began to write his great work on the development of family and marriage among the Hindus, by utilising the *Vedic*, *Bharat* and *Purana* texts and the researches of European writers amongst the aboriginal tribes alive today, the Hindu Marathi press in Maharashtra and the Hindu orthodoxy raised a howl against the publisher and the writer The work was never completed, and a year after, the author died. He was neither a Marxist nor a materialist nor an impious man. He was a very orthodox Hindu himself but he put historical facts and opinions above everything else, even the infallibility of God" The understanding of the *Vedic* texts remains incomplete, unless the ritual words are illustrated with the ritual actions, which the Brahmins alone know, and that too a very few of them, who are fast dying out It is a difficult task to persuade those with resources to bring the material together.

" The story of the theft of Jayaswal's famous manuscript on the ancient Indian Gana-Samghas and republics, the sabotage in its publication, is well known to the students of history.

Under such conditions, just at present it is not possible to attempt a full fledged presentation of Indian history by the dialectical materialist method. But certain broad outlines can be sketched. Enough material to do that is available in extant publications.

In this volume I am taking up the period of primitive communism, its break-up and the rise of private property, classes, slavery and the State amongst the Aryans.

Chapter I

Where Aryan Man Begins

WHEN WE SPEAK OF INDIAN HISTORY TODAY, we first think of a country with definite boundaries, called India, and all the people residing therein, whatever their religion, caste, profession or philosophy. The traditional boundaries of India and her people as we came to recognise them when they confronted the British ruling class do not exist today since the partition into Pakistan and Hindustan. Even then history of India still conveys the same idea—India bounded by the three mountains, north, east and west, and the two oceans lower down in east, west and south. History of modern India traditionally begins with the Battle of Plassey of the British period. Before that, or side by side, they speak of the Marathas. Before that the Moghuls and Muslim invasions, generally from 1,000 A.D. In all these periods, we include in the concept of India nearly all of the geographical areas which belong to it today. Yet a central power, governing almost the whole country, had never materialised till the Moghul and Maratha States of the 18th century, when people really could speak of one Hindustan. The English, with their political structure and capitalist economy, completed that conception and feeling into a reality, though a very limited reality, full of other contradictions, which we need not speak of here.

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This picture of one India, geographically and politically, becomes almost non-existent as we penetrate deeper into the ancient period, until we come to a point where we have to speak of only a number of peoples and not a country at all. That is the point, where we have to speak of primitive history, when men living in *Ganas* and tribes, roaming from place to place even while laying claim to certain territory and many a time not laying any claim at all, live as ethnic groups and are not recognised as citizens or inhabitants of such and such country. The history of the Greeks and Romans is first a history of such tribes and peoples and later it becomes the history of Italy and Greece as we understand it today. Similarly the early history of India is a history of the Aryan tribes and people, whose story later on becomes the history of India as a country.

All historians, with one or two exceptions, agree in holding that the Aryans came to India from a common home, somewhere outside India. Branches of the Aryan race went west towards Europe Asia Minor etc. and some came to India through the Himalayas via Punjab and Kashmir.

Where was the common home? Some hold that it was somewhere near the North Pole in modern Siberia (Tilak), some say it was on the Volga somewhere near the Caspian Sea, whom they identify in the Kashyapa Muni of Aryan mythology. Some do not accept this theory of a common home at all. But the evidence in the most ancient basic words of various Aryan groups of languages in Europe and Asia, the similarity of the early myths, which are basically records of early common life and thinking support the theory of a common home from where the Aryans spread.

Why did they have to spread? Some hold that it was due to a natural disaster such as a deluge which finds mention in the myths of the early Jews, Christians Greeks, Romans and Hindu Aryans. Apart from the deluge the very necessity of social growth—growing nomads in search of food and pastures warring tribes pushing each other out—was also the cause of the spread out.

When did this take place? Anywhere between 6000 to 4000 B C, according to some scholars. There is a lot o'

difference of opinion on these dates We should like to be precise but with present knowledge one cannot be.

Moreover, the unknown period of primitive history or pre-history is so vast that one can only approximate in terms of a thousand years or more, not less We cannot discuss them like the date of Shivaji's birth or the battle of Stalingrad

Anthropologists tell us that man evolved from the proto-man-animal some five hundred thousand years ago. They are working out the evolution from the most ancient skeletons and bones found in various places The animal living perhaps in tropical jungles was forced to leave them by natural calamity or changes Once on the ground, in order to survive, necessity drove his body to stand erect on the hind feet and free the front feet as hands for defence and for work, to snatch food, etc. With the hand he tried to make tools. With the erect posture, the hand fashioning itself out to make tools, and tools increasing his capacity to survive and grow, he increased his brain capacity, evolved speech and thus the proto-man-animal, who was something like, but not the chimpanzee or gorilla, grew into the full-fledged man who now peoples the earth The earliest types are dead and gone and we have only their bones here and there to help anthropologists reconstruct the evolution.

Between that time and the emergence of the Aryans in history, thousands of years elapsed So far we have no material to write that story.

The Aryans that we find described in the records of the Hindus are, no doubt, in the stage of savagery, and we shall see later what it means But they had far advanced from the man of earliest savagery. Yet some memories of that stage are hinted at in the myths which recall that period

The Aryans whom we are going to study here are those who are battling in Central Asia, expanding and advancing towards India and who ultimately seize it and colonise it. We shall try to unravel their progress from savagery to civilisation

One question which arises at this stage may be disposed of here, before we proceed to deal with the Aryan entry

Was India peopled by any other race or groups before

the Aryans came and what was their civilisation, and if the Aryans fought them, what happened to the defeated? That means is there any pre-Aryan history of India?

Yes, there is a pre-Aryan epoch of Indian history, if it can be called history. But no records are available all or most of them being what the Aryans said about their pre-decessors here. It is held by some that India, before the Aryans, was peopled by a people whom they name as Dravidians, who were more advanced than the Aryans in their material means of production and seem to have given a tough battle, but were ultimately defeated. The defeated Dravidians became Aryanised, but retained the basic structure of their language which is the hardest to change harder than religion morals, social organisation, etc. The South of India is peopled by the Andhras, Tamils, Malayalis, Todas, Kannadigas, who are held to be a stock totally different from the Aryans. The chief points of evidence to support this view, we will not deal with here. The present South Indians in their culture have imbibed all Aryanism they sometimes being better repositories of the *Vedic* lore than the North Indians, who are said to be directly Aryans. There are very few independent sources of their pre-Aryan history. But there is reason to hold that they may be the pre-Aryan Dravidians.

It may also be mentioned here that there is one more school which thinks that even before the Dravidians there was another stock of people in India, the pre-Dravidian. Either they lived side by side with the Dravidians or were defeated by the latter and thrown out. Who are the remnants of this stock? They are supposed to be the Mon-Khmer group of people now in Central Provinces and Bengal areas their descendants being the Mundas, Nagas, Santals, etc. Being pushed out they went eastwards. They are what anthropologists call the pre-historic Polynesian group which spread out to Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China and even Australia. The most primitive tribes in these areas are that Mon-Khmer group which was pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian with whom also the Aryans had to fight for the land."

¹The first comprehensive discussion of the Dravidian is found in Col

Now we shall turn to the Aryans as they are presented to us in their homelands, growing in their *Ganas*, migrating and advancing both geographically and culturally. What we shall be seeing of them now will be based on what the Aryan records themselves tell us, only we shall be looking at them, not exactly as they did with their imagery, but with our outlook of social science, of the modern rational reader.

Since we shall be delving into their history through their records, it is necessary to have some idea about them at this stage

The records of the Aryans are peculiar to themselves. There is no such written record in the history of any primitive people on the earth, who rose from primitivism to civilisation, survived to this day and carried their ancient social memory so well, except perhaps the Greeks to an extent. Egyptian history is read in the hieroglyphs of the Pyramids, the graves of their kings and in the papyrus scrolls Sumerian and Assyrian, and through them that of the Hittites, is read through their famous cuneiform mud tablets dug up in the Middle East. Greece can be approached through Homer, reaching upto 1,000 B C. or so, and the recent excavations of the Ionian and other remains.

The Indo-Aryan fixed his memory of the earliest social life in the *Vedic* verses or the *Richas* and all the literature following from them. The *Vedic* record is followed by the Epics and then comes a comparatively modern period of *Sutras* and *Smritis*, etc. For at least four thousand years, these *Vedic Mantras* accompanied by their definite accents, timings and actions, have been carried from mouth to mouth by the Brahmins of Hindu or Aryan society, until they were fixed down on paper, commented upon and preserved from extinction. No doubt they were preserved, learnt and handed down from generation to generation, not for benefit of mankind or history. By 1,500 B C or so they had become a religious ritual for the whole of Hindu society and source

well's Dravidian Grammar, 1856 On "Pre-Aryan-Pre-Dravidian", see Collection of Essays under the same title translated by Dr P C Bagchi, Calcutta University, 1929 Contains essays by Jules Block, Sylvan Levy and Przylaski.

of living to the Brahmin priesthood at that stage in their history. Hence their perseverance through ages, even after they had ceased to be social reality. What is however, characteristic is not that the ritual was preserved but that the Hindu Aryan in India had the fortune to live for over two thousand years, with almost an unbroken continuity of his basic social organisation, whatever the changes at the top. He survived through several invasions and onslaughts until the millions of the Hindus, and all those mixed up with them or submerged in them through history were handed over to the modern age of capitalism the industrial revolution to be dug up shaken up and altered completely out of their former existence. The social revolution that they are experiencing now is nothing like what they had seen before. Hence their social religious ritual and memory which could survive the former revolutions is no longer in a position to survive and pass on as before. Hence their extinction in the former form is inevitable. The historian has now to record them in print and paper. The society the castes, the voices and interests that carried them on the tongue, are vanishing for ever to be transformed into a higher and richer existence of the new Socialist society. History has denied that role to those pre-historic contemporaries of the Indo-Aryan, who parted company on the Volga some thousands of years ago.

The literature on the basis of which we shall be looking into the pre-historic or primitive commune period, are the four *Vedas* and the *Epic of Mahabharat*, and mainly the former.

The four *Vedas* namely the *Rigveda* *Yajurveda* *Samaveda* and *Atharvaveda*, are one in their essence i.e., in the subject matter and even form. In fact, according to the earliest traditions, the *Vedas* are only three *Rig* *Sofur*, *Sama*. The fourth has been admitted in the holy trinity at a later period. The *Samaveda* though separately mentioned, is nothing but the copy of the *Rigveda* set to tune and rhythm, which should govern the singing and actions under *Rigveda*. It is, so to say the musical score of the *Rig*.

In the ritual that is, the performance of what is known as *Yajna* or sacrifice these *Vedic* verses had a function.

According to the Brahminical tradition, each *Veda* was sung by a particular functionary in the *Yajna*. For the historian, the important point is not who sung which verse and what he did at the particular ceremony while singing it. The important point is what was the function of the man, saying it when it had not become a ritual, in the whole *Yajna* process. Whatever the verse, was there any socially useful act that he is supposed to perform in the process? The *Yajna* ritual, as it is known to the Brahmins today, of whom there may not be more than a dozen in the whole of India, is a process in which almost all primitive social life has to be recreated. You have to produce fire by friction of two pieces of wood, to build a cottage where no iron is used but only specific wood and grass, to milk cows, make curds, pound corn with stone (not even a stone mill), kill and skin animals, and boil and cook them, sing and dance, make love in the primitive way, fight and win, pray, and so on. If one studies the *Yajna* ritual, one comes to the conclusion that it is, in ritual form, the reproduction of primitive Aryan life. Telling to do all this, reciting the stories of the origin of the world, man and animal, singing beautiful descriptions of the dawn, the praises of the great wealth given to the people by the leaders (the *Danam*), shouting to cure disease and frighten the evil spirits, and so on, is the subject matter of these *Vedic* verses, or *Veda Suktas* as they are known. All scholars admit that the *Yajna* or *Vedic* ritual, in essence, reflects real Aryan life at a certain stage in history.

The forms, in which they are available to us today, are what may be described as editions and collections by various schools of Brahminical ritual. The collection of *Rigveda* is available only in one edition, or *Samhita* as it is called, consisting of 1,028 *Suktas*. The *Yajurveda* has six *Samhitas*, four of them comprise what is known as *Krishna Yajurveda* or black *Yajurveda*, two make up the white or *Shukla Yajurveda*. The *Samaveda* is only reproduction of the *Rig* with 1,549 verses. The *Atharvaveda* has 6,000 verses or 731 *Suktas* (A *Sukta* is like a sonnet with several verses or *Richas* in it). Nearly one-seventh part of this *Veda* is reproduction of the *Rig*.

The verses in these four *Vedas* are the most ancient in age, compared to what other material is available to us in other literature. Even amongst them some are older than others. At a certain stage in Aryan development, new *Richas* or *Veda* verses ceased 'to appear' or be created. What was there got fixed into the sacred inheritance of those who had them. What really this means in social history we will see later on.

But each *Veda* with these most archaic verses has a *Brahmana** attached to it. Each *Brahmana* has an *Aranyaka* and each *Aranyaka* has an *Upanishadā*. There being several *Samhitas* or branches of the *Veda*, there are several *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas* and *Upanishadas*. The subject matter of the *Brahmana* and *Aranyaka* is tradition stories, mysterious questions and mysterious answers. The *Brahmanas* are written in prose and are the source of a great deal of material throwing light on the ancient social organisation and struggles. The *Upanishadas* are discourses on philosophy now well known to all readers of Hindu history and philosophy. The *Upanishadas* are comparatively 'modern' additions to the *Vedas* and are not really considered as part of them though they are classified under this or that *Veda*. Each *Samhita* of the *Veda* has also its *Sutras* which are of various categories, viz., *Shrauta*, *Grihya* *Dharma Shulva*.** When we come to these we are already far away from the original *Veda* and its society. Because herein we come to laws and punishments, family rituals, property and all matters pertaining to a society which has ceased to be tribal.

We get hold of this literature ritual, traditions stories etc., etc., put together all the *Yajna* actions which are basic and most ancient and from them reconstruct the primitive Aryan society. This work has been attempted before by several great scholars of Vedic literature. They have collected all the necessary social data and put it down

* ब्राह्मण

** श्रावा ग्रीष्मा, द्युर्मा

† पृष्ठ-पृष्ठ

*We need not catalogue them here. They will be referred to in the subsequent discussion.

on record. But they missed the essence and hence could not hold before us a picture of the ancient Aryan commune. In fact, because those scholars lacked the theory of historical materialism, but only used the bourgeois sociological method of the 19th-century historians, they got into a muddle where they should not, but because they had a social approach and not the religious ritualist, they could sift the useful material facts for our study. It is mainly from these facts that we can easily understand the development of the Aryan commune, when we get the key to understand it. The key to the understanding of what looks like senseless ritual and sometimes meaningless stories in the *Vedic* texts including the *Brahmanas*, especially, and also the historical material of the *Mahabharat*, is to understand what the *Yajna* was. Social memory, tradition, religious ritual all hold the twin, *Brahman* and *Yajna*, to be the beginning of all world, the end and be all of existence in Aryan conception. If we note that and understand the *Yajna* and its relation to *Brahma* and man, with the help of the *Vedas*, *Brahmanas* and the *Mahabharat*, we shall have found the primitive Aryan in his true form. And then what to us looks a meaningless rattle about *Brahma* and *Yajna* in the *Vedas*, will come to have meaning. Let us, therefore, analyse and reconstruct the *Yajna*, and the origin of the Aryan man as given by his *Yajna* record and the great *Brahma* in whom he lives.

Chapter II

Yajna—the Collective Mode of Production of the Aryan Commune

ANY TEXTBOOK OF HISTORY telling us about the culture and civilisation of man, the way he lives and thinks and produces things necessary for his life, always tells us about the instruments used by him in the given stage to produce his necessities. This is an almost unanimously observed "practice", with all anthropologists and social historians, especially when dealing with ancient societies. They tell us whether man used hunting and fishing weapons, or whether he had plough and carried on agriculture. They even classify social history according to the instruments of production such as man's Stone Age Bronze Age, Iron Age etc. Whatever their theories of history, they cannot escape the fact that in the life of social man the instrument of production is the thing that is the key to his life. But beyond this the bourgeois historian will not go.

The Marxist holds the productive forces at the disposal of society in a given epoch as the determining factor. Before man can think and do any other activity he must do the prime activity of struggling with Nature in order to live to produce food housing clothing etc. The instruments that he can build for this the number of people that can

collect together and hold together for this and their skill are the total productive forces of that society. The given geographical and natural environment then can become an additional helpful factor, not otherwise

On the basis of these productive forces and according to its nature the social organism is built. How men shall organise their relations to each other and to the instruments of production, i.e., production relations, will depend on the productive forces. Hunters of the primitive age with the stone axe cannot have capitalist relations or society, nor can wage-earners and capitalists with the steam engine have the primitive commune relations.

In the change-over from one stage to another, the revolutionary factor is the instruments of production. The peculiarity of the instruments of production is that they are never static and are constantly changing, undergoing change due to man's social productive activity and the needs of human society.

The changes in the instruments of production, the productive forces, are the key to the revolutionary changes in the structure of society.

So when we look into the history of the ancient Aryan and his *Yajna*, we shall have to first find out the instruments of production at his disposal and how he produced with them. That should give us the structure of his organisation, his production relations, and then his ideology, morals, family relations, etc.

Vedic literature and the Epic of *Mahabharat* is full of stories of Creation and the early life of man on this earth. Apart from mere speculation and fantast, which proceed from men in the state of savagery, the *Vedic* tradition preserves a record or recollection of the most early state of their ancestors, their way of living, working and growing. The Hindu Aryan at a later stage developed his own theory of social (Aryan) development, of men and the whole Creation. He created a system to depict the development, called the system of *Yugas* and *Manvantaras*. The system was not based on fantast or mere speculation. It was merely working out the social changes that social memory narrated to him, which he clothed with the imagery of the savage.

or barbarian. Man in that stage clothes all phenomena, everything around him, with life and intelligence or consciousness. He reads the world after himself. He has not yet cut his navel-string with Nature and is still very much a part of it. So sun, moon, stars, the seasons, trees, stones, rivers, earth and all are personified into powers, gods, godesses, etc. The dead still live for him and though buried, burnt and gone, still sit with him and have their feed. But behind all this backwardness which, in the absence of science and mastery of Nature and society is bound to produce the imagery and ideology that is found in every primitive people there is the determining factor of social life, of the mode of production, the level of productive forces and production relations. Myths and mythology cannot fail to express these relations, which in fact are the essence of these myths.

The chief feature of the Hindu system of looking at history or in fact the whole universe is that it considers history as being not static but always moving and changing. These changes are attended with great struggles and disasters until a new stage arrives and stabilises for a time. The changes primarily affect man and his social life to such an extent that the characteristics of one epoch become quite their opposite in another. Without going into the details of this here we can note that this dynamic view of change of history ultimately is divested of all its value by being turned into a mechanical dogmatic cycle of movements pre-destined by God. But before the Hindu historian came to the dogmatic end he faithfully recorded the changes that social memory related to him.

All Time i.e. social history is divided into four *Yugas* named the Krita, Treta, Dvapar and Kali. Human or Aryan society began with the Krita age went through the next two and since the end of the Mahabharat war entered the Kali age which is not yet ended¹.

Thus, according to the Hindu historian, human society or his one rather has gone through four definite and demarcated epochs of development. Each of these four epochs has its own law of social organisation which means laws of production and distribution of wealth, laws of social rela-

tions, laws of marriage and family and laws of morality and worship, etc.

The point that Hindu literature wants to emphasise is that with each change in the *Yuga*, what changes in man is *Dharma*. And what is *Dharma*? His mode of existence,* the law of his being. And being is concerned with what mainly? With production of wealth and his own reproduction, i.e., sex or marriage. He calls it *Artha* and *Kama*.

Whatever the idealist philosopher may say, the Hindu writers reduce the whole thing to a very clear-cut material reality of social existence and man's life.

How does the Hindu philosopher of history define these four *Yugas* of social development?

The *Aitareya Brahmana* of *Rigveda* defines them thus (VII—15)

The *Kali* is one sleeping or lying prostrate

The *Dwapar* is slowly moving

The *Treta* is standing

The *Krita* is wandering **

The demarcation between the first three and the fourth, *Kali*, is very marked, and, being contemporary to the philosopher of history, it has been noted with great care and wealth of details. But the first three can be easily identified with the help of our social science.

The hunter wandering in search of prey in groups with his stone tools, crude boulders, etc. is the epoch of *Krita*, very remote in man's memory. It is the stage of savagery of man. The second is where he evolves from stone tools to the bow and arrow, discovers fire, domesticates animals and grows primitive pasturage. Life has become more stable, though one cannot talk of stability of the age of civilisation. It is the *Treta*, say, of barbarism. From there evolution is more rapid. Metal tools are evolved, smelting does it. The iron axe, the plough and agriculture come into existence. Populations in growing have to move but life is more stable. Finally, still greater development of

* धृ धारयति इति धर्मः.

** कलि शयानो भवति सज्जिहानस्तु द्वापरः।
उत्तिष्ठेता भवति कृत सप्तयते चरन् ॥

tools, handicrafts come in, town and country develop, property relations undergo a violent change and *Kali* is ushered in, the age of civilisation.

Alongside of production of wealth is the question of man power, of sex relations, of reproduction of man himself. And here too the four *Yugas* are described as having different laws, which are given by the *Mahabharat*. But we shall take up all these different characteristics when we deal with the development of the family. Here we only wish to note that social epochs and their changes were noted and these changes connoted essentially changes in the very material social existence of man, and relations necessary thereto.

This reading of social history with the aid of our social science has however to be confirmed from the Vedic record itself. How do the *Vedas* describe man's development through these ages? Do they describe changes in the instruments of production and the relations of production in society? How does the Vedic writer describe social development in answer to such questions?

All Vedic literature is dominated with but one demand and the measures for the fulfilment of that demand—namely wealth meaning primarily food and more men (man power)—*Dhanam* and *Praja*. The first, *Dhanam* describes his instruments of production his economic productive activity and as an adjunct of that the second one—*Praja*. All Vedic *Samhitas* contain abundant material on these two questions.

The struggle for food was a very hard one with the crude stone tools it was bound to be so. The precarious existence of the hunter with uncertainty of game with running after the prey with no shelter no fire no protection against Nature and wild beasts, caused a shudder in the memory of the Aryan. Whole groups of societies perished in the struggle for food and sometimes men wondered if they would all perish in the battle. The fear is expressed by the Vedic philosopher in his own way. His struggle for food, existence and creation or reproduction was amounting to the effort of the Creator *Prejapati* who also said to be

been suffering from the same problem *Prajapati*, the Creator, suffered "abortion" in the act of creation of the world and himself was threatened with extinction for want of food.

But then milk was created and given to *Prajapati*, which revived him. Then he roasted and ate eleven selected animals.² Thus the world was born and survived. If that was the plight of the God, the Creator, you can imagine the condition of man!

Hence the Aryan gods asked their leader Indra to battle hard with the weapons of stone and bone, *Vajra* and *Asthi*, the sharp bones of *Dadheechi*, and fight against *Vritra*, against *Vishwarupa*, who would not give means of livelihood to anyone.

For thousands of years men roamed the earth in the condition of savagery of the *Krita* age. They went through several lands, driven from each by lack of prey or by disease, or hostile neighbours, and so on. A very ancient note of this is kept in the *Venidad*, which mentions sixteen lands through which early Aryan man had to wander, before he settled down. The *Venidad* migration does not relate only to the hunting period of savagery but refers to later periods also, but not to the age of *Kali* or civilisation.

Under such conditions, there could be no question of holding private property, employing slaves, building a State, in short, there could be no society based on classes, of the exploiters and the exploited. Whatever was produced or caught had to be done with collective labour and consumed collectively. Man individually was powerless to fight and survive against Nature.

The next stage in the evolution of tools was when man discovered fire and the art of domestication of animals. The earliest savage knew not how to produce fire or domesticate an animal. The discovery of fire and domestication caused a revolution in man's social organisation and life.

"Both these advances became directly new means of emancipation for man."³

Fire certainly had been observed in the forests, in the

² Rigveda 3-9-1-1, 2-5

³ Engels "Ape to Man" in *Dialectics of Nature*

lightning of the clouds falling on trees and blasting them. Men had seen it as a terrible destructive force of Nature burning down everything with great fury. But the point was to produce it at will and hold it in man's service as a controllable force or instrument. With the Aryan that task seems to have been done by one Angiras or the Angiras gen. Angiras is one of the common ancestor *Pravaras* of the Aryans. The discovery of fire by Angiras is referred to in the Rigveda in any number of places.*

The Aryans had at last that instrument which immediately caused a great revolution in their life. The revolution was so great that all later Aryan life is ascribed to fire. Revolves round it and is centred on it. Creation, existence, growth, wealth, happiness, all proceed from fire (*Agni*). The two most vital changes resulting from it are the production of wealth in cattle and population (*Praja Pashavah*).

Fire made the hunt and fish easily digestible when roasted or cooked on it. Hence the great god Agni is called *Amad* eater of raw food, and *Kravyad*, eater of dead flesh. It scared off wild animals, hostile goblins and ghosts.* It could be thrown as a weapon in the form of burning cinders of wood or torches against wild animals* and enemies who had no such invention as yet. It protected man from the inclemencies of weather and made movement and sight possible in the darkness of the night which could be very long and cold in the oppressive Siberian regions.

Allied with fire came the art of domestication of animals which solved the most pressing problem of a stable supply of food. Hunting and fishing were so precarious a supply that man sometimes had to resort to cannibalism. Once fire (*Agni*) came down from the heavens to man's house.

Rigveda: 1-13-3 1-63-4

* रात्रू वा अग्निरसो गुणात् दृष्ट विग्रह
सिद्धिवा वदे वदे । भवादो दद्वापात् सन्ते प्रदद्वात् ॥

Rigveda: 3-2-8 30-20-4

Rigveda: 3-11-4

* Rigveda: 3-13-1

Rigveda: 3-13-1

Rigveda: 6-69-2 3-23-7 1-43-3, etc

and cattle could be made his permanent docile companion to feed him with meat and milk, to provide him with skins and hair for clothing, for warmth and other uses, with bones and horns to be made into other useful tools, life jumped into an altogether new and higher age. The *Yuga* or epoch changed.

The leader of all this change was again the *Agni*, who later on makes smelting of ores possible and again causes another revolution—but of that later on, not now. Hence the *Rigveda* calls fire the leader and protector of the settlements of man. He is the *Vishpati* *Vish* meaning settlement. He alone made households possible. He is the oldest and greatest friend of mankind, sent by the gods for man. In fact the gods got their food only through him.

Aryan man thus built all his new life round fire and cattle, built society with the new instruments of production and productive forces on a new level. A mode of production came into existence which produced for the first time wealth and plenty compared to the former age of instability, wandering, ruin and annihilation, the “abolition” of Creation and Creator. The new mode, the new productive forces, lifted man from savagery to barbarism, from the *Krita* age to the *Treta* age, from wanderings to settlements, from starvation and occasional cannibalism to assured supply of food, shelter and defence, from nakedness to covering, from helplessness before Nature to strength and growth. He was prostrate, he now stood up with confidence and beamed with happiness, smiles and songs.

What did he call this new mode of production, this new social organisation, this new art he had achieved?

Vedic tradition says that with the rise of fire, the taming of animals and the building of settlements (*Vishas* or *Vrajas*), *Yajna* came into existence, *Brahman*, the Creator, gave *Yajna* to man* in the *Treta* age,** which was not there

* सह यज्ञां प्रजा सृद्धवा

** व्रेतायुगे विधिस्तु एष यज्ञानाम्

न कृतयुगे—महाभारत-शान्तिपर्व (२३८-१०९)

व्रेतादौ यज्ञां—महाभारत-शान्तिपर्व (२४४-१४)

in the *Krita*. Tradition says that *Yajna* was the greatest gift of *Brahman* to man, lifting him out of one *Yuga* into another.

Yajna is the new mode of production in which Aryan society enters with the aid of fire. The new existence of the man of *Yajna* mode leads to prosperity and development of *Brahman**. When *Yajna* is performed *Brahman*, creation so to say begins to come into existence. *Brahman* is the commune of Aryan man and *Yajna* is its mode of production, the primitive commune with the collective mode of production. And the *Vedas* are the knowledge of this mode of production, of this way of life of the great *Brahman*, the commune. That is the way Aryan Hindu tradition puts history on record and that is the key to the understanding of the earliest epoch of Aryan history, of its epoch of primitive communism.

Historical materialism says that primitive communism is imposed on social man by the extreme backwardness of the productive forces, by poverty of production and not by abundance of production. If anything is to be produced it is possible only by collective labour private production private consumption private households are an impossibility. Men's relations to each other are governed by this necessity. This is the chief characteristic of the primitive commune. Does the *Yajna* mode of production lay down these characteristics, does the *Brahman* the primitive commune its life, culture and ideology its morals and ethics exhibit the characteristics of primitive communism or collectivism as has been seen in the history of all primitive peoples? Does the *Yajna* mode and the *Brahman* show us these essential features of primitive communism which have been noted by Morgan explained by Marx and Engels and have had to be partly admitted by even bourgeois scholars who deny the theory of historical materialism? They do. Let us proceed to see how.

The essential features of the primitive commune of its mode of production and life are collective labour and consumption no private property no division of labour, begin with but later on it appears with the developing

productive forces; no classes, the organisation is a gen organisation based on matriarchy, all of whose members are kins, private family and marriage, as known to later civilisation, have not come into existence; all functions are elective by the whole commune; there is no State with its army, police and taxes to enforce the production relations or property relations, hence no State law and machinery of force to enforce it

When these appear the commune has broken down and collectivism has vanished

The *Vedic* literature mentions all these characteristics in its own way, while describing the various *Yajnas* of the Hindu Aryan society. The *Vedic Samhitas* are a collection of record and memory of various epochs. They mention *Yajnas* as a fact governing all life, when the gods did them and lived in them and through them. They also mention *Yajnas* which are now rituals, performed by rich men and kings, or poor householders with the aid of the priest-Brahmins to please the gods and attain their ends. It is our task to sift the earliest *Yajna*, the real primitive mode of production, from the later rituals, the living *Yajna* from the dead ritual.

Scholars of *Vedic* literature have done the sifting to some extent but find it hard to place it in history. The greatest confusion prevails naturally with regard to the most OBSCURE *Yajna* said to have been performed by the gods. Obscure it is, because its mention in the literature is done in a manner to suggest that when the *Vedic* ritual was coded, it was not in current existence. This obscure *Yajna* is the *Satra* and *Kratu*. What were these *Satras* and *Kratus*, when did they exist and what were their characteristics?

Satras and *Kratus* existed in full bloom when the gods did the *Yajnas*. Later Aryans rarely imitated them, but they continued to derive their *Yajnas* from this earliest *Yajna*. Gods in the mythology of the Aryans stand for their ancient ancestors, as also the personified natural phenomena. They can more or less be so distinguished from each other. *Satra* performed by gods is the collective form of labour of the early Aryans.

The most outstanding characteristic of the *Satra* is that

all the participants in it are *Ritvijas* and *Yajmanas*. What does this mean? In later *Yajna* ritual, the performing people are divided into various categories of *Ritvijas* who are then engaged by a private householder called the *Yajmana*, who pays for the *Yajna* ceremony. Not so in the *Satra*. It was a collective functioning in the pristine manner, in which all participated in the collective labour without distinction or division of labour. The division of labour in the seventeen categories of *Ritvijas* of the later Aryan society had not yet come into existence.

The second characteristic of *Satra* unlike the later *Yajnas*, is that the *Yajnaphal*,* i.e. the proceeds of labour is a joint or collective product, to be distributed collectively and equally, and consumed collectively the procedure being symbolised in the ritual of *Samakhya* ** i.e. drinking Soma juice from one and the same pot. This *Samakhya* in the *Agnistoma* of *Somayaga Yajna* is not done in any other *Yajna* and hence has a deep characteristic meaning in the *Satra*.

The third characteristic is that all the participants in the *Satra* are of the same *Gotra*, i.e. blood relations which is not the case in other *Yajnas*. This means that the commune was constituted of blood relations or kins only and there was no non-kin in its fold. Before beginning the collective *Satra* labour or social task, all put their hands together and vowed to co-operate to the end without fault and with one mind. That was called the *Tanqonapatri Prachart*.

Every communal labour requires someone to be aside to coordinate and guide the labour process according to plan. Hence the fourth characteristic was that men were elected to temporary functional roles when work became varied and as productive forces grew from which arose the *Pravarana vidhi*,† the act of choosing electing. When

* यजनपाल

** समाख्या

† तान्त्रोपत्तवाद

†† प्रवाल विधि

work was over, the functionaries dissolved in the common-hood of the commune

The fifth characteristic was that both men and women participated in the *Satīa Yajna* or labour, which is not the case with later *Yajnas*

All these characteristics of *Satra* labour or *Satra Yajna* show the existence of the primitive commune among the early Aryans

Some Vedic scholars would ask the question if the *Satras* were not merely the *Yajnas* of the private house-holder, with which the later Vedic tradition, as given in the *Sutras*, abounds? This is ruled out by the above characteristics of which number one, three, four and five can never be found in the private household *Yajna*

Some would ask if the *Satras* were not just some special celebration for a special occasion? Tilak, who paid some attention to these *Satīas* in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, considered them as the most ancient *Yajna* and held that it was a collective name for the daily *Yajnas* repeated over a number of days and months by the Aryans. Tilak did not call them the collective mode of life of the primitive commune. But it is clear from the discussions of almost all Vedic scholars who had any social viewpoint on the *Yajna* question, that the *Satra* was the sum total of the day-to-day activities of the commune for the sustenance of its life and reproduction. And because of this the word *Satra* came to signify in the Sanskrit language the sense of "simultaneity," "togetherness," "collectivity"**

Let us take the case of the famous *Triratnākratu*, performing which the gods attained great wealth. This *Kratu* shows us how the Aryans of the most ancient times produced and reared their cattle-wealth. The *Akhyayika* or *Yajna* legend tells us how it arose and what its procedure is. The speciality of the *Triratnākratu* is that it is a combination of three *Kratus*, united in one and carried out collectively. The story regarding its origin is as follows. Amongst the gods there were three god-communes (*Deva-Ganas*) named *Vasu*, *Rudra* and *Aditya*. *Prajapati* created

* साकें सत्रा सम सह इति अमरः

these collectives. The *Akhyayika* uses the term *Gana* and *Samgha* for them. He gave to each collective a fire and asked them to worship it. All of them worshipped this fire for one year collectively and produced one cow. *Prajapati* was pleased with their great efforts and gave the cow to the *Vasu Gana* collective for production. There they reared from her 333 cows. *Prajapati* took the original cow from *Vasu* and gave it to the *Rudras* who also got 333 cows. The *Adityas* repeated the process. Then they pooled all the 999 cows plus the original one and made a *Yajna* with 1,000 cows, which were given away as *Dakshina* or gift (as the later commentators say).

The above *Akhyayika* gives us all the essentials in a plain and clear manner of the early collective mode of production of the Aryan gens. The first characteristic is that those who perform the *Kratu* are gods of *Gana-Samgha* that is, living in the ancient democratic primitive commune or gentile organisation. Secondly all their collective efforts on three *Agnis* (fires) yield one cow which emphasises the impossibility of individual distribution or ownership of the product. Three *Ganas* cannot divide one cow if it is to be a source of further wealth, which it is in the story. Thirdly as the *Gana-Samghas* grow in wealth, some sort of equalisation of the product is indicated by the uniformity of the number in the herd and the rotation of the cow round to all the *Ganas*. Fourthly all production and gain of wealth is pooled together in the collective of all the three *Ganas* and collectively consumed which is the *Yajna*. There can be no clearer description of the early collective *Yajna* mode of production and distribution than this!

Let us now see what kind of day to-day labour according to the *Yajna* mode the whole commune performed. The main activities of *Satra* labour can be easily extracted from the *Agnistoma* of *Somayaga* from the *Shadanga Kratu* and *Devaratra*.

The primitive commune was a very small unit just like the small hut-settlements that we find among the tribal Polynesians or even today in some Indian villages. The main wealth of the commune cattle were specially protected in stone enclosures which sometimes were made large enough

to cover the whole settlements. They were called *Ashma-viṣṭa*, the stone-henges of ancient Europe. The great central fire fed by the *Samidh* fuel wood was the centre of life. It was housed in a wooden rectangular structure^o about 36 feet by 48 feet which also served as the common kitchen of the commune. Just nearby was built the communal house, where were kept pots of milk, curds, *ghee*, corn, etc., etc. A special structure was raised for storing *Soma*-weed, for preparing and fermenting the juice and its special drink-pots called *Gāhas*. That was the brewery of the commune. The common meeting ground was marked off on which seats were built of mud dug out from a nearby place called the *Chatval*, and over them grass or *Bāhi* was spread to sit on. All assembled on this oblong ground, the *Mahavedi*, to do the day's labour, to eat and to enjoy what had been gained by god Agni's favour.

It would appear that the citizens were numerous enough to require with all the appertenances an oblong piece of ground whose east-west length was about 108 feet and whose north-south side at the eastern end was 72 feet and at the western end 90 feet. Nearby was marked space for the refuse to be thrown in.

It was the task of the *Hota* early morning to give a call to the gods and men to assemble. Then tasks were allotted. Some went to bring *Soma*-weed and pound it into juice. Some went to cut the grass for seats and for being plaited into "clothing" and head-dresses, grass for ropes to tie the cattle, grass to cover the houses. Some went to cut wood for fire. The *Duhita* milked the cows and sheep, the *Shamita* cut the beast for the meals, skinned it and put it on fire for cooking. Corn was pounded in wooden receptacles and on stones. The grinding-mill had not yet been invented. Pots had to be fashioned from earth. Smelting of ore had not yet been invented. Baskets were made from cane, wood or grass. The elected *Grihapati* directed men and women to their tasks. The various *Adhwaryus* of the jobs instructed and participated in labour, the *Brahma* supervised and pointed out mistakes here and there, the

^o Called the प्राग्वस्त्रमण्डप

Udgata led the songs to cheer them up and assist in the rhythm that every collective labour demands. Labour was not light but neither was it dull. It was hard enough when you see that flour could not be ground for want of a mill and grass had to be cut with horse-rib bones sharpened to edges. The animal could not be killed as with a sword and skinned with a knife, because metal smelting had not been invented, and so it had to be killed with a cudgel or smothered and then skinned with bones. This shows the backwardness of the instruments of production and hence the backwardness of *Yajna* labour.

Everything that was produced came to the *Mahavedi* direct for use and consumption, as *Dharma* demanded. After the gods and *Pitaras* were given their share (the *Havi*, without which they could not live—this, of course, in the case when the *Yajna* applied to man), what was left, i.e., the *Hutashesha* was for all to consume. The daily *Havana* was nothing but the mode of distribution of the food, collectively produced to the whole commune and as such was an integral part of the *Yajna*.

All work began and was interspersed with the exhilarating drinks of *Soma*, aided with baked flour *Purodashes*, with parched barley and rice mixed with curds and milk. The heaviest and pleasing meal of the day was the feast of meat, and the Aryan scrupled at nothing in that matter. There was not one living thing that he shunned in this matter the most common of course being the goat sheep and deer. The cow and the bull were also eaten but being more valuable their turn came with less frequency. Well fed and well-drunk they slept round the fire in promiscuity in the early days or retired with their selected pairs to their huts when later on the pairing family developed in the commune household. Man was pleased and so was *Agni*. Thus the *Brahman*, the commune lived and laboured enjoyed and multiplied.

Chapter III

Yajna, Brahma and Veda

IT WOULD NOT BE OUT OF PLACE here to pay some attention to the meaning of *Yajna* and its derivation. The word “*Yajna*” is not a word but a sentence formed of *ya*, *ja* and *na*. The root *ya* or *i* meant “to go, to gather”; *ja* meant to beget, *na*, *an*, *ant* were terminations signifying third-person-plural form of the verb. Thus put together the sentence meant: “They gather together and beget”. What? Things and children. Similarly, the word “*Yajus*” or “*Yajur*” in *Yajurveda* is a sentence *Yaj* and *us* or *ur*. This *ur* also is a pronominal termination of third person plural, the whole meaning again “They gather together and beget”. Later on the sentence acquired the form of a noun, *Yajna*, a mode of organisation of production in common of things and men, and *Veda* is the knowledge of this mode.

The *Yajna* is thus the collective mode of production of the ancient Aryan, before he developed private property, classes and State. As soon as that happens, the old *Satra* and *Kratu* go out of existence, and *Yajna* then survives as a ritual, a form of worship, a social memory. The later Aryans inherit the belief in the *Yajna*, as it is under the *Yajna* that their society flourished, it is out of *Yajna* and the primitive commune that the later society of classes and castes was born. The social reality with all its ideology and beliefs had become a part of social inheritance. So,

when the reality vanished, its ideology survived as a ritual and the new classes utilising that ideology made the ritual and surviving belief a weapon to consolidate their power over the mass of the people, whom now they exploited in the new economy and new social order. People then were led to believe that if a certain *Yajna* process of the ancient Aryans were imitated in a ritual exactly and correctly the same results of prosperity would follow. The *Yajna* ritual became an imitation of the *Yajna* reality. We will see how this came about later on. But the point that is to be emphasised here is that all Vedic scholars, Europeans and Indians though holding that some parts of the *Yajna* ritual do express the early living conditions of the Aryans, could not explain *Satras* and *Kratus*, the peculiar life of the Aryans found in the later rituals, and several other things in the *Yajna* system, such as the confusion of *Gotras* and *Pravaras* (of which we will write later). Their failure arose from their conception that *Yajna* was basically a worship of gods or deified natural forces which in parts alone symbolised some social actions and conditions. If a bone was used to cut grass and stone to pound corn, they concluded that there was no iron-knife and no grinding mill. That was the only "social" conclusion that these scholars drew. That way *Yajna* its hold over the Aryan his idea that it is the originator of life and wealth his being full of nothing but *Yajna* in all his living and thinking cannot be explained except by saying that the barbarian believed that way in supernatural forces. That bone and stone tools, a recent discovery of fire and taming of animals cause a social revolution and man evolves a new collective mode of production and that these two discoveries affect the commune profoundly and hence man is full of its ideology and naturally so could not be understood by our Vedic historians. Only when *Yajna* is taken as a mode of production can we make sense of it.

Koenig has written a whole chapter going into how the *Yajna* represents the migration of the Aryans, it is said that the *Yajna* is to be done being the *Yajna* the ritual for the *Yajna* to be held in the *Yajna* is housed is to be constructed on four wheels and the *Yajna* is a very large post to which the sacrificial arms are tied before it is lit and burnt but is made with a broad base so that it stands and stands well.

early history The history of the development of man from savagery to barbarism and thence to civilisation does contain sense though mixed with supernatural nonsense Social life cannot be built on mere figment of imagination and worship-rituals

The other thing that baffles our scholars is that thing called "*Brahman*" In the *Yajna* process, in the stories of Creation and social growth, the *Brahman* is constantly recurring but refuses to be caught and fixed by the historians

They very well see that this *Brahman* of the *Vedic* Aryan is quite different from the *Brahman* of the *Upanishadic* philosophers The *Vedic* barbarian in his primitive commune, not yet confronted by social contradictions, class struggles and exploitation, was far away from developing the idealist philosophy and cant of the later *Upanishadic* period There the *Brahman* is the original intelligence, consciousness or spirit whose manifestation is the world That *Brahman* is without qualities (*Nirguna*) while the *Vedic* one is objectively real, with qualities (*Saguna*) That one is realisable only by those subjective processes of contemplation which we find in the *Yoga* or *Vedanta* philosophy, while the *Vedic* one is an objective reality enjoyed through the quite material efforts of man The *Vedic Brahman* enjoys life, eats, drinks, dances, is happy and growing The *Upanishadic Brahman* is beyond senses, even reason, without feelings, emotions, to whom eating, drinking, enjoying is taboo, and through that taboo and starvation alone is it approachable! The healthy growing living *Vedic Aryan* had no use for a non-existent, subjective, senseless, miserable, "*Udaseen*" *Brahman* To the *Vedic Aryan*, *Brahman* lived in the collective commune and in the Universe and, therefore, he himself was a part of it To the *Vedic Aryan*, the *Brahman* was the commune and its members, and like the barbarian he attached the moon, heavens, earth and all to the commune, which with the *Agni* (fire) was, of course, the centre of everything

Vedic scholars have seen this in the literature, but being under the influence of idealist philosophy want to make this *Brahman* a mysterious thing Haug, Egging, Hillebrandt,

Ketkar, Tilak and all went round and round this *Brahman* and failed to identify him, just as they failed to identify the *Yajna*. Haug collects all the meanings of *Brahman* from the famous commentator Sayana and lists them as follows. *Brahman* means (a) food or food offering (b) the chant of the *Saman* singer, (c) magical formula, (d) duly completed ceremonies, (e) a chant and sacrificial gift, (f) recitation of the *Hotri* priest, (g) great.

In all these meanings, there is none of the idealist philosopher and all are directly allied with or proceed from the commune and its actions. Hillebrandt comes to the conclusion that the *Brahman* in *Rigveda* is spoken of as being new—"as not having hitherto existed" and as "coming into being from the fathers. It springs forth at the sound of sacrifice begins really to exist when the *Soma* juice is pressed and the hymns are recited at the *Savana* rite endures with the help of the gods even in battles and *Soma* is its guardian. On the strength of these Hillebrandt justifies the conjecture of Haug that it signifies a mysterious power which can be called forth by various ceremonies and his definition of it as the magical force which is derived from orderly co-operation of the hymns, the chants and the sacrificial gifts.

Anyone can see from this that the Vedic Aryan feeling in every action and fibre of his life the existence of the commune while collectively labouring singing and drinking that is while in *Yajna* expressed his collective existence.

* In following Sayana, these scholars are on the wrong track. In the Chapter of the *Rigveda*, where the praise of the *Brahmanopati* occurs, Sayana translates the word "Brahman" as food, which is wrong. Rajwade discusses this and holds that it really means not "Master of food or master of praise"—but "Leader of the *Brahmans*"—Rajwade, *Going beyond Rigveda*—(as we can see it means "Leader of the members of the *Tajus* commune") (cf. discussion in *Rigkamishava* by Rajwade, p. 101) • राज्वदे १०१

Rigveda: VIII 37. 1, VII 69. 9, VI 23. 3, I 47. 2, VII 21. 9, VII 27. 2, &

* Quoted by Das Gupta in *History of Philosophy* Vol. I, p. 212, 1922 edition.

• Cf. Marx on the effects of co-operation in labour says as "Arising from the new power that arises from the fusion of many forces into one single force more social contact begins in every industry as men are not so stimulated of the animal spirits that belong to a community of the individual workman" (Capital, Vol. I, p. 218)

feeling and consciousness as the Universal *Brahman*, which was the commune, and nothing but the commune. To him, at the stage of development he was, it was a mysterious force, a thing that sprang forth and lived in *Yajna* and at its call. But there is no reason why we should be mystified by it.

The *Yajna*, arising from the discovery of fire and taming of animals, led to wealth, prosperity and growth of the Aryan commune and saved it from extinction. Hence, everything in Aryan society centred round the *Agni* and *Yajna* based on *Agni*. Thus, when later as man progressed and invented smelting of iron and made a sickle, the Aryan religious ritual, aiming to please God as his forefathers had done and to attain wealth which his forefathers had done, imitated the actions of his forefathers and sang the same verses and cut grass for *Yajna* not with the new iron sickle but with the old horse's rib. The commune had vanished and so also the rib, but the rite could be reproduced as a symbolic ritual though not the commune and *Yajna*. The verses could be sung but not the old collective, real happy *Brahman* could be brought to life. *Yajna*, which then was a social reality, became a fiction, but a fiction following from reality and inherited by the descendants of that society to whom *Yajna* was real, and these descendants, carrying yet with them some remnants of the old ideology and practices, held on to the verses and the ritual in the fond belief that its imitation would make them happy and give them wealth.

Later generations of Aryans, therefore, collected the *Vedic* verses as they developed through history, expressing various stages of growth of Aryan society, from the commune down to its struggles and break-up, and made them into their own ritual. They transformed the old *Yajna* into a sanction for absolutely new laws of social organism, which was the very opposite of *Yajna* law. That happened as a historical necessity whose nature we shall discuss later on. What we are concerned here is to point out that the present *Veda Samhitas* are collections of that period when real *Yajna* society had ceased to exist, class struggles and contradictions had come into existence and a new society

was already being born within the womb of the old, but a class State had not yet finally triumphed and made itself supreme.

The *Veda Samhitas* at this stage therefore, have by themselves become a force which they were not before. To the early Aryan, who really lived in the *Yajna* there was no such thing as a sacred *Veda*. He himself was creating new *Richas* or *Mantras*, because his own creative actions and words transmission of his experience, his own songs, were his own creation and there was nothing mystical about it. Hence in the early *Veda* we find mention of Indra being worshipped and *Yajna* done with 'new verses.' New verses have completely ceased to appear in later *Yajnas* i.e., in rituals, and it was the greatest blasphemy then to change the existing verses. And naturally so. To class society these old verses and practices had become sacred and so the *Vedas* became a religious ritual textbook, not to be added to or altered.

The *Vedas* being inherited from the *Yajna* of the ancient Aryans, were considered a weapon of producing wealth, very real material wealth. Sayana of the 14th century defines the *Vedas* as a book that gives man knowledge of procuring things required "for fulfilment of his welfare and the negation of his ills."* The meaning of that word in *Rigveda* is "wealth" from the root "vid"—to obtain or procure of the 6th conjugation. If "vid" procures wealth, one must know how to procure it and that knowing or knowledge also becomes "vid." Knowledge or knowing has no meaning value or function if it is not one of procuring wealth. Hence again *Veda* from the root "vid" — "to know" of the 2nd conjugation became knowledge—"jnana". Knowledge of what? Of procuring producing obtaining What? The ancients answered without hesitation "*Praya Pashvadish*"—progeny and animals.**

The memory of the growing great (Brahman) ancient
commune said that this mode of before this knowledge

existed with them since Creation came and stabilised, since the beginning of their existence, because existence begins with it. No man had, therefore, seen the *Vedas* being invented and certainly not the later class society who fostered this belief about the *Vedas*. Hence, they were declared to be without beginning (*Anadi*), always enduring (*Nitya*) and no ordinary man's creation (*Apaurusheya*)⁵. Man could not live without material wealth and wealth had to be as soon as man was, nay, even before him, and hence, the *Vedas* also. That was how the Aryan reasoned.

Neither the early nor the later Aryans made any mystery of the *Vedas* in the sense in which the idealist philosopher makes a mystery of the soul and his relation to being and the question of the liberation of the soul from the thraldom of life. The Aryan compilers have been honest to tell us that what is known as *Vedas* is really divided in two parts—one a reality, and the other a fiction—with a little dash of reality. And this fiction-cum-reality later on becomes a pure fiction inasmuch as it justifies quite a contradictory and opposite reality by pleading sanction from the sacred reality of old. This he tells us by dividing the whole Hindu lore into three parts. The real verses of the *Vedas* were really "seen," "revealed" by the *Rishis*—*Mantra-Drashtas* as they were later called. From seeing (*Drishti*), it went to "hearsay" or "*Shruti*". The *Shrutis* are fiction-cum-reality. And then the last came *Smriti*—just remembrance. If one scans these three stages of Hindu tradition and religious lore and later on law, one can see how they are nothing but the reflections of the changing social organism of the Aryans—from the primitive commune (*Mantra-Drishti* seeing the *Vedas*) to the rise of a society full of class contradictions inside it and its break-up, but not yet complete, (society guided by *Shraut Dharma*—hearing the *Vedas*), and then to the final class State and complete annihilation of the commune ushering in the *Smriti* law, which has nothing in common with the *Veda-Yajna* and its society.

⁵ *Apaurusheya** may also mean created before the *Purusha*, the later class society described in the *Purushasukta*, was born. * अपौरुषेय

This should dispose of the question as to the real meaning of what is *Veda* and why its standing in Hindu society. It should also dispel the mystery about its unchallenged hold over men's minds and affairs for hundreds of years and its ultimate destruction by idealist philosophy in the class State the so-called annihilation of the *Karma Kanda* by *Jnana Kanda*, as Hindu philosophers call it. But here perhaps we are anticipating history too much. Having, therefore, dealt with the three controversial terms, *Yajna*, *Brahma* and *Veda*, we will proceed with the organisation of the commune where we left it last doing its *Satra* and *Kratu* labour in common.

Chapter IV

Gana-Gotra, the Social-Economic and Kin Organisation of the Aryan Commune

WITH THE DISCOVERY OF FIRE and the taming of animals the life of the commune became free from the daily threat of annihilation in the struggle against the forces of Nature. But the backwardness of productive forces though daily being reduced still imposed a life of poverty and hard labour. Whatever *Satra* labour yielded was, therefore, for immediate consumption. Instruments of production had not yet developed to that point where individual labour got the capacity to produce a surplus, i.e., something more than the barest minimum to protect life from death. Hence they had not discovered that human labour had the capacity of producing more than it consumed. The primitive commune with its technique had not realised that man's labour-power has the capacity to produce a surplus and that one could live without labour, on the surplus of the labour of another. But with the development of cattle breeding and further inventions, this condition was soon going to change. At this stage, however, there did not even arise an idea of one living on the labour of another, the productive forces just gave no ground for such a thought.

Another result of the backwardness of the instruments of production in the earliest stages was that having no surplus of production or variety of production whatever was produced was consumed directly. There was no question of exchange of products. So the producers controlled their product, it remained with them, they did not part with it in exchange and hence had not yet developed the mysteries of the market, money and so on. The *Maharedi*, the seat of production or collection and the god *Agni* in the centre of the settlement with its enclosures and pastures was all the world for the small primitive commune life beyond was all hostile and evil.

The backwardness of the instruments of production ruled out any division of labour in the commune at this stage. Whatever little division of labour we find in *Satra* labour of the most early period, was temporary and had not evolved into a stable permanent economic interest. There was hence no *Varna* division or caste-class division in the primitive commune. The whole commune consisted of what is sometimes called the *Vishas* the inmates of the settlement. The permanent division of labour was also ruled out by the fact that the community was yet too small for it. For division of labour in society population must have grown sufficiently large. Hence *Satra* society or the early *Ganas* had yet no question of the castes, of the three or four *Varnas* which, however were soon to arise.

That the *Varnas* arise in Aryan society at a certain stage of its development that it had first no such divisions is admitted on all hands so we need not spend time on that point. It is also admitted and in fact it was very plain that the *Varnas* arose as a division of labour in society. How that took place, we will see later on when we reach the stage of division of labour.

It should be noted here that between the discovery of fire and the taming of animals Aryan society took some time. But from the taming of animals to the development of exchange division of labour *Varnas* and all the aforesaid changes in social organisation the process was very rapid and the Aryan commune changed very rapidly.

We have seen the primitive commune round the *Satra*

the *Satra* labour, collectively producing and consuming. They lived and laboured somewhat like the large households we still find in some of the villages in India, without, of course, that patriarchal authority and variety of labour that we find in them. The only differentiation in labour was between men and women, the men doing hunting or fighting and breeding cattle, and the women managing the household, cooking, milking, growing corn around the settlement. The labour of both, however, was social labour, collectively done and held, and hence there was no private household and no differentiation of status between men and women.

Smallness of the community, absence of variety of labour and division of labour, exchange and the division of classes into those of the exploiters and exploited, rich and poor, rendered any authoritarian organisation standing above society and ruling, ostensibly in the interests of all but actually in the interests of exploiters, unnecessary and, therefore, did not exist. There was no State, the organ of class authority, no army, no police, no taxes. Society had no need for that apparatus.

What was then the constitution of the commune in the matter of internal regulation and external defence? The ancient Hindu Aryan writers raised this question themselves and answered it.

It is a characteristic noted by *Vedic* scholars and plainly visible to any reader that the early *Vedic* literature does not pose any question regarding the internal organisation of the commune, the individual behaviour of the members, their relation to the collective, faults and punishments in those relations, the force to carry out the punishments and the money, etc., necessary to maintain it. All the discussions mostly centre round the question of Creation, the origin of the universe, man and *Agni* and cattle-wealth. It is only in the later *Brahmanas* that questions of authority, ethics and behaviour arise. In the early *Vedic* literature, along with Creation, is also discussed the question of battles, wars and their outcome. And occasionally arises the only question of ethics, that of sex relations. The question of kingship and State, of ruler and the ruled, the rights and duties of individuals as such are not subject of any wrangle.

Therefore, the internal organisation of these communes, their peculiarity which distinguishes them from later Aryan society, is noted by the later writers, when these communes break down and give place to class States and new types of wars, i.e., when civil wars and new questions of internal organisation—of the State force taxes, law and morality, etc.—confront society. More than in Vedic literature these are the main subjects in the Epics, especially the *Mahabharat* and the *Smritis*. From them in their comparative discourses, where they discuss the differences between the old and the new we get to know how these early communes functioned in relation to their internal structure, which was very simple and completely answered to the stage of the productive forces of that period.

The organisation of these communes was a *Gana* organisation as is mentioned before in the *Triratra* tradition. It may be described in the words of Engels as "a self acting armed organisation" of the people, which had no special machine of force the State to regulate its affairs, since it was not divided into contradictory classes, based on private property. Public opinion of the commune and natural necessity kept everyone to his collective social task in the commune. Any small derelictions were just corrected by public censure. A most serious crime that of death of a *Gana* member at the hands of another member or some such crime, was punished with exile from the *Gana*, which virtually amounted to death in those conditions of savagery. Since there was no army and bureaucracy to enforce any law there was no taxation. The public elected functionaries participating in the collective labour process though not directly producing, was provided for from the collective proceeds just as old men and children.

How was the membership of the *Gana* decided? Under the class State and modern Socialism membership is decided by domicile and adherence to the State on a given territory. Not so in the *Gana* Law. The *Gana* was not co-extensive with a territorial organisation or State. Its membership was decided by kinship or blood relationship.

The early Vedic society of the *Yajna* mode of production therefore, was a *Gana* (gentile) organisation. In

which all members were related by blood, in which there was collective labour and property in the very early stages, no division of classes or castes, no State, no king, no exploiters and exploited, it was a self-acting armed organisation of the people

That is the way the Hindu texts of the later period describe the *Ganas* for us. And early *Vedic* gods and men, all lived in *Ganas*.

The rise of the State and the kingships in the later periods, and also the *Varna* divisions and civil wars, was so violently in contrast with the past that everyone wanted to know how and why it had arisen. The answers do not give us the correct reasons but they lead us to them.

In the *Mahabharat*, the old patriarch Bhishma is always asked questions regarding the past when any new practice does not square up with the traditionally known custom. The leader of the Pandavas, the victorious section in the *Mahabharat* war, which fought the Kauravas, both belonging to the same kinship, asked Bhishma a question about kingship. "How is it that a mere man, just like any other man, with eyes and hands and a mortal at that, becomes a king and can rule over men wiser and more powerful individually than him? What gives him this capacity?"*

In answer, Bhishma tells us the story of the origin of the State as he understands it. The most important statement that he makes in giving the origin of kingship or State is that there was a period when there was no State, no kingship ("Rajan" here really means State). In the *Krita-yuga*, or formerly, "there was no kingdom and no king, no

* समान जन्ममरणः समं सर्वैवनवनृण म्
 विशिष्ट बुधदीन् शूग्रश्च कथमेकोभितिष्ठति ॥ महा शान्ति ५८-८
 नैव राज्य न राजाऽसीन्न च देष्टो न दाण्डकं ।
 धर्मेणैव प्रजा । सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम् ॥ शान्ति ५८-१४
 श्रयन्ते हि पुराणेषु प्रजा खिरदण्डशासना ॥ ३००-८
 पाल्यमानास्तथान्योन्यम् । परस्परम् भावयन्तः ।
 पुरा खिरदण्ड एवासीद्—वधदण्डेऽथ वर्तते ॥ २७३-१९
 सहस्र षष्ठं चरता पुरासीत्सुखमेव तत्
 तेषा नासीद्विधातव्य प्रायश्चित्त कथचन ॥ शान्ति २७६-१२

These verses sum up the fundamental characteristics of the primitive commune in the matter of internal functioning.

punisher and no punished (no State and no exploitation). By their very law of being the people protected each other "Their derelictions were cured by public censure," says he in another place. Describing the perils to the *Gana* organisations, he cites internal rivalry, greed (to amass property) and the break up of their unity as the main dangers. And the characteristic of their mutual relationship he notes as 'they are alike in caste and by ancestry or blood'.* If they go to war among themselves, it is the end of the *Gana* principles one of the most important violations being that they cease to recognise the principle of blood relationship and its obligations.** All writers describing the *Gana* characteristic which is also that of *Krita yuga* say that there men did not distinguish between 'your and mine'. This was not merely a fiction but a reality following from the collectivism of the primitive period. In fact, Kautilya the greatest organiser of an imperial kingdom and strong Prince-dictatorship says that in a *Gana* where "Vairajya (described in the *Alte raja Brahmana*) exists 'nobody has a feeling of mine' and hence he thinks—like the modern bourgeoisie in relation to Socialism—that a member of such a State will sell his government and country and no one will feel responsible for the government of the country.† While these uprooters of primitive democracy reviled it as degenerate they were still afraid of it as being very strong against the foe because of its internal cohesion. They contradicted themselves and being steeped in the class outlook of the class State and private property could not understand how the *Gana* could live. But it did and did well and some had to admit it as Dhishma did.

That *Gana* organisation and kinship are identical is implied in the root meaning of the word *Gana* itself which

* गाना व गुणा तु तदेव अप्याद्यात्मिति १००-१

** राज्यम् वृत्तम् वृत्तम् वृत्तम् १००-१

† द्वाष्ट गुणेण वृत्तम् वृत्तम् वृत्तम् १००-१

वृत्तम् वृत्तम् वृत्तम् १००-१

वृत्तम् वृत्तम् वृत्तम् १००-१

The "Vairajya" or kinless State was described as one in which there was no ownership of property—a分明 says a *freedom* of property!

was common to the Indo-Aryans, before their break-up from the original home. *Gana*, the socio-economic organisation described by the *Mahabharat* and the *Vedas* (and later on described as a kind of political organisation in the *Smriti* period), comes from the root *jan* in Sanskrit which means to beget, to produce. It has both economic and sexual meaning. The root in *jan* and *Gana* is the same as in *Yajna* which we noticed before. The Aryans, therefore, had one and the same root for all the three meanings or relations indicating their social-economic and sex organisation. A *Yajna* mode of production was bound to be a *Gana* organisation which in turn *ipso facto* consisted of none but the kins (*jana*), that is, those who were born round the *Agni* and the *Yajna* mode of life, of men and women who together produced life and livelihood in common. Writing about this with reference to Morgan, Engels says

“The Latin word *gens* used by Morgan generally for the description of this sex organisation is derived from the equivalent Greek word *genos*, from the common Sanskrit root *jan* signifying to beget. *Gens*, *genos*, Sanskrit *jana*, Gothic *kuni*, ancient Norse and Anglo-Saxon *kyn*, English *kin*, middle high German *kinne*, all signify lineage descent. *Gens* in Latin, *genos* in Greek (and, I add, *Gana-Gotra* in Sanskrit—S A D) specially designate that sex organisation which boasted of common descent (from a common sire) and was united into a separate community by certain social and religious institutions”¹

That the earliest organisation of the Aryans was based on kinship, and that it was the foundation of all subsequent “nations”, is persistently indicated by them in various ways. The famous ten tribes that spread over almost one-half of India and beyond are stated to be kins. The five tribes of Yadu, Turvash, Druhyu, Anu and Puru are shown as sons of one father Yayati from his two wives Devayani and Sharmishtha. The five tribes of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha of east and south-east India are said

¹ Engels, *Origin of Family*

to be sons of Bali, produced on his wife by one blind sage Deerghatamas. The point emphasised is that these people with their socio-economic relations were also kin relations.

The Gana constitution is thus the people's organisation under primitive collectivism, where production relationship was at the same time kinship

This is illustrated for us even in the names of the most fundamental blood relationships. Kin relation and economic functional relation in the activities of the commune are identical in the name of mother, daughter father, husband and wife

Mother was one (*Ma tru*) whose function it was to measure out (root *Ma* to measure) and distribute food, flesh, etc., to all, and one who gave birth to the children, i.e., one who gave more life. Through food and mother the commune the Brahman reproduced itself and lived. Father was one (*Pi pa tru*) whose function it was to hunt, to be on the look-out for protection (root *Pa* to protect). Daughter (*Duhi tru*) had to do the milking of the cattle (root *Duh* o milk), the most important part of the food-supply work by the side of the mother. The sex relations of *Pati* and *Patni*, who in turn become the father and mother also denote the function of putting together and building a settlement. The word is derived from *Styai*, which means to put together to assemble. What—of course the settlement and later on the house or individual family* *Pa-tryu*, *Stree* and *Patni* all meant the males and females, who assembled the commune. The word was found perhaps even before the Aryan man decided to find different words for the male and female in their sex roles as distinguished from their social-economic roles. Hence the word *Grihapati* before the rise of the private household, denoted both the male and female (*Griha-pati-Stree*—says Panini)

In later epochs, economic role and relationship ceased to be governed by kinship. When the primitive commune broke down father and mother were so though they may not build the house or protect or measure food. The feudal landlord, the capitalist house owner the poller took over

these functions, while mother and daughter, father and son were cast wide in the world in fields and factories to find their food and *pastyam* as they could and seldom getting it in spite of hard labour and abundance of products!

Another name for the organisational basis of the Aryan collective was the *Gotra*. While the word *Gana* based itself on the act of production and producers (*Jana*), the word *Gotra* based itself on the main source of wealth and food, namely cattle (Sanskrit "Go") While, here again, it has the basic economic content, the *Gotra* organism and the relationship connoted by it survived among the Hindus mainly as a basis of sex or family relationship and has been a subject of controversy among Hindu scholars. The Hindu law of marriage prohibits marriage between persons of the same *Gotra*. All *Gotras* are united and classified under nine main divisions called *Pravaras* (Marriage amongst same *Pravaras*, however, is not specifically prohibited, according to some scholars) Vedic scholars note, however, that this prohibition of marriage within same *Gotra* is not to be found in the *Vedas* or in early history. It has arisen very late. But they are unable to tell us why. The task is given up by them as hopeless. The *Gotra-Pravara* confusion is insoluble to them.

The Aryan *Gana-Jana* and *Gotra* were, however, one and the same thing and were the basis of their economic and marriage relationship. *Gana* economy was of kin members, and kins had common economy. Everything beyond the commune or *Gana* was hostile and inimical. A non-kin was an enemy and hence could not be in the commune and could not join in the *Yajna* mode. One who is not in the *Yajna* is a foreigner to be annihilated and his wealth to be captured and appropriated. One could not have kins in the enemy. The *Gotra* alone was one and all. Hence, to produce life and livelihood, the *Gotra* was the foundation and the limit. Hence, marriage had to be in the *Gotra*. The *Yajna* community of the primitive Aryans could not think first of marrying outside the *Gotra*, away from one's own fire—the *Agni*. The Aryan, both in his conditions of savagery and barbarism, had to learn by experience of hundreds of years of life and observation to see that inbreeding or

consanguinity was harmful to the growth of the Gotra. The conceptions of our present-day prohibitions of kin marriages have grown only through thousands of years of history. The Aryan in his primitivism married within his Gotra and then in later history prohibited it, when he grew and expanded in numbers, in area in knowledge in economy.

Gana Gotra or kinship and economic relationship raises the question of sex relationship i.e., the question of marriage in the primitive commune. And in this also the extreme primitiveness of the productive forces determined the sex relations of the members of the early Aryan society. The ethics and morality of Yajna society in this respect were quite different from that of later Hindu societies, from that of our age or that of modern Socialist society.

Chapter V

Primitive Commune Marriage

THE DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT of the institution of marriage as we find it in bourgeois society today and the morality and ethics by which the bourgeoisie swears day and night but never observes, has always roused heated controversies in every country. Questions of divorce, polygamy and monogamy, "property marriage" and love marriage, and such other questions are raising storm in the rapidly changing Indian society and are forcing the intelligentsia to look at the relations between man and woman as having two aspects—one the social, as man and woman, as social units; and the other, the natural, as male and female. Historians of the marriage institution have tried to derive monogamy, polygamy or polyandry by resorting to comparing man's sex relations with those found in some species of animals such as the apes or the deer, etc., etc. Such attempts are totally ridiculous inasmuch as no animal has ever formed a social organisation (a herd is not a society). And man is not just an animal, because of the very fact that through his progressive control over Nature's forces, by means of developing his instruments of production, he lifts himself out of the animal world and builds human society. Hence, man's sex relations as between male and female are from the very beginning conditioned by society—they are at one and the same time natural sex relations and social relations.

As both Nature and man are changing and developing they have a history. They are not static given things immutable for all time. Hence they have to be viewed historically. Which means that ethics and morality in the matter of relations between man and woman are not determined by God or mere nature, are not the same for all epochs, but are changing and developing, from a lower plane to a higher plane.

That these relations are not the same for all societies and not the same for all time even in the same society is also being conceded by the bourgeois intelligentsia. But they differ and argue violently when one comes to find the law that governs the change and to determine what is the higher phase and the lower. Like all ruling classes, the bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia in India hold the extant relations as always the highest and the best.

When, therefore in our research into history we come to this phase of Aryan social life and history we step into a field which raises even greater storm than the question of property. When the subject was first studied in Europe in the mid nineteenth century and historians found various forms of marriage in various tribal societies and remnants of those forms in certain contemporary customs, they dismissed them as peculiar notions or accidents of backward people. When Baschofen proved that matriarchy arose from "group marriage" in ancient society and was the origin of every social group people protested when Morgan Marx and Engels developed the theory of the origin of family on the basis of historical materialism as the reflex of the socio-economic relations of man the theory that each social epoch of man's mode of production determines the form of family. Bourgeois Europe maligned Marxism as advocating "naturalisation" of women. Some sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia in India have attempted that calumny here too. But one can only say that it is a perfect natural conclusion only for the bourgeoisie which can identify also a property. The working class lauds a "no" conclusion.

The bourgeois Hindu intelligentsia in India is trying to bring a society "out of" his society should be the last to bring a society "out of" his society.

because the very gods whom he is asked to revere daily, have had anything but "moral" sex relations, from the point of view of what is held moral today. Hindu "sacred" history records every form of marriage or sex relation among its gods and heroes, which is abhorred by social ethics of the modern Indian. In short, the subject must be treated historically, in order to help us to go to a higher form of social organisation, which will be neither like the primitive commune of the barbaric age nor like the class slavery of the bourgeois civilisation.

The ancient Hindu writers themselves, being nearer to the reality of that age and less interested in putting a false veneer on the social-class relations of their age or the memories of the past, did not try to hide inconvenient facts either in matters of property relations or sex relations. They admit that sex relations of their society were totally different from those of earlier society. According to their usual way, they say that the four *Yugas* had four different sex relations "to generate progeny," just as they had different socio-economic relations "to generate wealth." The great patriarch Bhishma characterises the sex relations of the four *Yugas* by four names as those of *Samkalpa*, *Samsparsha*, *Maithuna* and *Dwanda*, as valid for the *Yugas* of *Krita*, *Treta*, *Dwapar* and *Kali*, respectively.* Having recourse to our knowledge of the development of marriage among ancient tribal people even now existing, we can identify these four stages. *Samkalpa* relations are those of complete promiscuity, relations taking place between those who just wish it, with no social or personal barriers laid down. *Samsparsha* are those when relations between the most near relatives were banned, marriage between same *Gotra* members were interdicted and different *Gotras* married in *Gotra*-group way. *Maithuna* is the last stage of the natural

* कृत्युगे—

न चैषा मैथुनो धर्मो वभूत भरतवेभ ।

संकल्पादेव चैतेषा गर्भ समुत्पन्ने ॥ शान्ति २०६-४२

तत्त्वेतात्युगे काले संस्पर्शाद्वजायते प्रजा ।

न ह्यभून्मैथुनो धर्मस्तेषामपि जनाधिप ॥ ४३

द्वापरे मैथुनो धर्मं प्रजानामभवन्नप ।

तथा कलियुगे राजन्दन्दमापेदिरे जना ॥ ४४

marriage. It is the end of the group-marriage the pairing family enduring till the pair desired, to the exclusion of others. Dwanda is the monogamous pair of the Kali age where the woman is subject to man who stands in contradiction to her on the strength of his rights of private property and the monopoly of it.

That the extant marriage form is not ancient has arisen as a stage in evolution and is of recent growth is admitted in all the traditional literature of the Hindus. When Pandu the sick king asked Kunti and Madri, his wives, to lie with others in order to get children he gave the unwilling Kunti a long lecture on the ancient practice when exclusive monogamous married pairs did not exist.* When Surya went to Kunti, in her girlhood when she showed the old urge of free and natural love but just hesitated at the consequences in a world that was fast changing and humming with new values, Surya set her doubts at rest by quoting again ancient practice. Bhishma did the same thing when his brother died childless and his mother wanted her daughter in law to produce children by levirate with other men in order to inherit property and the kingdom. Through the Mahabharat the Puranas and the Vedas runs a consistent recurring note that marriage and family of the Kali age—of the woman bound down in monogamous marriage monogamous for her only with the children being known after the father and not the mother as of old and a family founded on such marriage—is quite a new thing a new social invention to meet certain needs and that it is not natural.

* अथ रितं प्रदद्यामि वर्षेनार्थं निरोधं मे ।

पुराणकृतिमिदृष्टं वर्षेनिर्दिमंहात्मनि ॥

भवत्तु तां दिवं पुरा विद्य भास्यतामने ।

प्राप्य वातिविहारित्वं रथवर्जनायावहामिती ।

वासी व्युष्टवर्त्यामानी लिवातामुक्ते वैदीन् ।

मात्रमेव भूर्व वाग्नोदं न ते वर्षं पुराणम् ॥

त तेव वर्षे देवानां विद्यावेदिकानां प्रवा-

प्तानां विद्युतिविद्यानां वायोविद्यिकानां ॥

प्रवातानां वर्योदं पूर्वानां च वैदीन् ।

वैदीन् वै वैदीन् वै वैदीन् वै वैदीन् ॥ वैदीन् ॥

1. वैदीन् वै वैदीन् वै वैदीन् वै वैदीन् वै वैदीन् ॥ वैदीन् ॥

Then what was the ancient social-natural relation and family?

Aryan man, like all savage people, took a long time to observe the effects of conditions of promiscuity or inbreeding. The small social group of men and women, holding together against wild Nature, worked and lived collectively and bred within itself. As in economy, so in sex, he remained a savage, half man, half animal, growing out of Nature and against her, trying to understand her and overcome her. The undesirability of relations between male and female when they happen to be son and mother, father and daughter or brother and sister, had not yet been seen by him. Hence these relations, which are now held as a crime of incest, were not prohibited. Remnants of these in social customs today are not available anywhere, but Aryan mythology shows the existence of such a stage when it mentions the birth and growth of several of their gods, their *Prajapatis* and Creation, and these examples are not treated with horror but are simply explained away by saying that they were permissible because they pertained to gods.

The *Aiteriya Brahmana*, when it began to explain Creation, tells us that the *Prajapati*, the original Creator, married his daughter for this purpose *. The *Matsya* and *Vayu Purana* speak the same thing of *Brahma*, the Creator. When later on such relations were banned, the *Prajapati* seems to have persisted but had to be cautious. So he took the disguise of a deer and went to his daughter, *Dyaus*, who also had taken the same disguise of a *rohita* deer. But the gods seem to have been very vigilant and before *Prajapati* could carry out the deed, he was shot through by an arrow. The *Rigveda* did not feel very indignant about it, and assures us that both the sinners found place in the heavens as stars of the group known as "Hunters" (*Aiteriya Brahmana*, 3-33, 5-32). Even if this is to be explained away as an allegory to describe astronomical phenomena, there was no reason to resort to this imagery or ideology unless it was actually present in the minds of men as a reflex of actual facts of life.

The *Harivansha* also mentions famous cases of this type

* प्रजापतिवै स्वाम् दुहितरमध्यायत् ।

Shatarupa, daughter of Vishishtha Prajapati, when of age became his wife (ch. II) Manu married his daughter, Ila, (ch. 10), and Janhu, his daughter Janhavi-Ganga (ch. 27) The Harivansha goes on recording still more complicated cases Here ten Prachetas were brothers who had a son Soma. Soma had a daughter called Marisha All the ten brothers and Soma together got a son, Dakshaprajapati, on Marisha. This Daksha later got twenty seven daughters, whom he gave to Soma, his father for the creation of progeny Daksha is also shown to be a son of Brahma who gave his daughter to the grandfather and the result was the famous Narada.

When history of this type was being retailed out of social memory by the ancient writers like Vyas and Vaishampayana to Janamejaya, the king was surprised and he asked them how it could be possible The astounded Janamejaya was coolly informed that it was true history ("Puratan Itihas"—MBH) and that was the *Dharma* the mode of social organisation of remote antiquity and hence was permissible then

Such an organism knew no differentiated kind entailing defined sex interdictions. But this promiscuity was found to be injurious to the growth of the progeny Hence the first prohibition that was thought of and applied to was to relations between parents and of peers and brought into existence the consanguine family Here the marriages are arranged by generations all grandfathers and grandmothers are mutually husbands and wives equally their children the fathers and mothers in this, brother and sister male and female cousins are mutual husbands and wives.

The second stage was the creation of a barrier between brother and sister This progress was much more difficult because of the greater equality of ages of the parties concerned. It was accomplished gradually by Inning with the natural tie on the mother's side Hera difficult it was can be seen from the fact that late in the *Figred's* *Yam* the sister of Yama a & her love at property entered he resiles, leaving the the great watchman of the gate

Varuna, would see and be angry. Yami argues on the contrary that the gods would approve of it.¹ The end of this drama in the *Rigveda* is lost but even if the conclusion is presumed that Yama ultimately refused, it points to the difficulty with which the earlier custom was fought out.

The *Taitteriya Brahmana* relates how Sita-Savitri, the daughter of *Prajapati*, wanted the love of her brother Soma, who, however, did not want her but his other sister Shraddha. She asked the father's advice, who gave her an amulet and she succeeded in winning Soma.² The *Adi Parva* of *Mahabharat* and the *Harivansha*, while discussing the origin of family from the *Brahman*, says that Daksha, son of Brahma, born of his right toe, married Daksha, born of his left toe, that means his sister. They got sixty daughters. Daksha had two brothers, Maichi and Dhaima. Dharmaraja married ten of his brothers' daughters. Maichi's son Kashyapa married Daksha's thirteen daughters, his cousin-sisters. For the same reasons of inbreeding, these relations also were ruled out. This second barrier of interdictions gave birth to that organisation known as *Gana-Gotra*, in which the members cannot marry each other but had to seek their husbands and brides outside it. Where formerly kin marriage was the rule,³ now it became prohibited. Thus *Sagotra* marriage was ruled out. The *Gotra* is that sex organism of the primitive commune in which all husbands and wives are common to each other, i.e., there is group-marriage, but the husbands can no longer be kins or blood relations of the wives. Hence the husbands and wives must belong to different unrelated groups, i.e., *Gotras*. The rigid tie between the *Gotra* and marriage in ancient Hindu society at a certain stage pre-supposes its foundation on group-marriage but in such a way that blood-kins do not marry.

* उत्तरान्त धा ते अमृताम् एतद्

² *Taitteriya Brahmana*, 3-10, 9-4

³ The prohibition of consanguine group-marriage and also pairing family is ascribed in the *Mahabharat* to Shwetaketu, son of Uddalaka. The man who pairs with Uddalaka's wife, with his consent, claims his right because the woman belongs to his *Gotra*. He says

प्रजारणिस्तु पत्नी ते कुलशीलसपन्विता ।

सदृशी मम गोत्रण वहान्येनां क्षमस्व मे ॥ शान्ति १२८-२६

Asagotra marriage was the solution of the problem. With the end of group-marriage and the coming of monogamy, the Gotra procedure becomes meaningless and hence soon loses its place in Hindu marriage though orthodoxy tries to stick to it as a matter of ritual and custom.

Though marriage had to be between non kins, i.e. between dissimilar *Gotras* yet it had to be within the same nation the same people. How did the small social group of primitive economy which at the beginning had perforce to be of kins and near kins at that solve the problem?

The inbreeding small community units of the savage Aryans were helped out of their difficulty by the growing productive forces. With fire and cattle the population began to grow and the communes became larger. And yet this growth of productive forces was within the limits of such poverty that communistic households of a very large settlement could not be built with their aid. So the collective commune family had to split beyond a certain growth. The new sex prohibitions and relations became effective on such occasions as the division of the old and the foundation of new household communities or *Gotras*. One or more sisters became the centre of one group and their natural brothers, who could not marry them became centre of another group. Their sisters were the mutual wives of their mutual husbands but these husbands now were not their natural brothers. In such a group-marriage the mother only could be the known or identifiable parent and she by her position in the *Yajna* economy dominated the household hence descent was in the mother line. So the sister's children continued to be the inheritors of the *Gana Gotra* while the brothers had to migrate, go to the *rena* where their wives were found. Collective or communistic household and group-marriage was the foundation of matriarchy. That is the origin of all societies and so was it of the Aryan also.

Foundation of *Cana-Gotra* by sisters is found in the story where the sixty sisters who were daughters of Daksha, form into seven groups of 10 13 22 4 2 2 2 and have seven Prajapati husbands and begin the creation of the world. Gotra family names, after their women founders are as follows:

uncommon in the genealogies of the *Rishis*, though their male names mostly have been handed down to posterity.

This form of marriage and lineage revolts against present-day conceptions of family organisation and marriage. So the bourgeois scholars in India as well as in Europe have stubbornly refused to admit its existence. But historical facts surviving even till late period in the form of custom have unfortunately betrayed these scholars. That the offsprings of such a family were considered the progeny of the commune along with that of the mother was quite natural to that society. Hence children had *Gotra* names first and then their individual names and they were known as *Gotra-apatyas*, the children of the gen. When matriarchy was overthrown and lineage through father in the monogamic family came, the direct child of the parent was known as *Anantarapatya*. Naturally, such an organisation had no such thing as an illegitimate child, an object of contempt and an abandoned denizen of the street.

Matriarchy has survived in India with great persistence and polyandry of the Pandavas and Draupadi is no mere fiction but has its survivals in some of the castes in India today staring in our face. They prove the existence of group-marriage in primitive Aryan community with such force that historians have been at a loss to hide or explain the phenomenon otherwise. They feel ashamed to acknowledge it because they want to judge and recast primitive society of their holy gods and forefathers exactly according to the legal code of their patriarchal slavery. In such matters, history is better helped by the straightforward attitude of Bhishma, who records facts as they were, and the historical materialism of Marx, who explains why it had to be so before, cannot be so now, nor will it be so in future. Communism too, where the respect and freedom of the woman will be restored on a new higher level.

The attempt to suppress the matriarchal origin of early society was made not only by modern scholars but even by the ancient writers of patriarchy. Mother-right and collective property of the primitive commune were overthrown so far back in remote history that its historical record is not

obtainable, except in the form of survivals in custom and tradition. Historian Vyasa, writing in the epoch of patriarchy, when descent from mother had been overthrown sought to begin world history with Prajapati patriarchs. But he failed. The founder Prajapatis with their progeny had all to be named by their mothers. In spite of the male historian and his society which had now subjected the woman into slavery, the woman broke through the barriers and asserted her proud primaeval position (For easy reference we give here the eighteen names of the common mothers and their matriarchal gens, with whose battles, expansion and feuds, the whole of early primaeval history of the *Adi Parva* of *Mahabharat* and the *Vedas* is full—see Appendix)

The splitting of the *Gana-Gotra* and the founding of a new one is described in the *Somayaga* ceremony. It puts the female god i.e. the ancient matriarch Aditi in the centre of the first ceremony which is made to show the first resolve of separation (the *Prapanceyeshti*) the resolve being aided by five deities, called Pathya-Swasti Agni Somi Savita and Aditi. The first is the goddess of welfare of journey the second is the fire taken from the original household which is to found the new one. Somi, the god of provisions and food Savita the sun and time. These four stand in four corners of the marching gens, while Aditi the primaeval mother founder and leader stands in the centre of them. Aditi alone gets special *Haranna* of ghee and rice (in this *Yajna* ceremony) while others are asked to be content with parched corn (*Ajya*). Turn the *HL* 'ers of *Samill* as you will with the aid of pedantic bouri eos lawyers like McLennan and his followers, to assist the case of patriarchy you cannot escape the conclusion of matriarchy as the founder and maker of early society.

A certain stable pairing for a longer or short period took place even during the group or *Go ra* marriage. A man held his principal wife among many women and he was to her the principal husband among others. Such a half and pairing would gain ground the more the *Gana-Gotra* developed and the greater became the restrictions on marriageable relatives, making group-marriage more and more difficult.

cult It was displaced by the pairing family At this stage one man lives with one woman, but in such a manner that polygamy and occasional adultery remain privileges of men. The marriage tie may be easily broken by either party and the children belong to the mother alone as formerly.

Examples of the pairing family in Aryan life are well known and the *Gandharva* form of marriage, recognised by later Hindu Smriti Law, is a proof of it The "holy practice" of Vishwamitra-Menaka, of Dushyanta-Shakuntala, is too well known to be recalled in detail. Rishi Jaratkaru had a pairing family with the Nagi Jaratkaru of Vasuki Gotra, from which Kashyapa was born, who saved the Nagas in their war with Janamejaya and others The famous Pandava brothers broke all records by resorting to almost every form of marriage and family They showed the remnant of group-marriage in polyandry by five natural brothers having one common principal wife, Draupadi, and she, too, was an offspring of the same type of union inasmuch as the *Mahabharat* says that she was born on the *Vedi* out of the *Agni* fire* along with a brother, to her father, who did some *Yajna* for it The polyandry of the Pandavas was not an exception, as can be seen from the fact that it still obtains in some parts of India⁵ Having Draupadi as the principal wife each one had other wives too. Hidimba had a pairing family with Bhima, till Ghatotkach was born Chitrangada had Arjun until a son was born to her In all these cases it

* कुमारी चापि पाञ्चाली वेदीमध्यात्समुत्थिता । शान्ति १८१ ४५

⁵ While speaking about polyandry, Engels mentions India and Tibet and suggests that its "origin in group-marriage requires closer examination and would certainly prove interesting"

"It seems to be much more easy-going in practice than the jealous harems of the Mohamedans At any rate among the Nairs in India, where three or four men have a wife in common, each of them can have a second wife in common with another three or more men, and similarly a third and a fourth, and so on It is a wonder that McLennan did not discover in these marriage clubs, to several of which one could belong and which he himself describes, a new class of club marriage! This marriage-club system, however, is not real polyandry at all, on the contrary, as Giraud Teulon has already pointed out, it is a specialised form of group-marriage, the men live in polygamy, the women in polyandry" (Engels, *Origin of Family*.)

is to be noted that the sons remained with the mothers who were freed from their husbands after a certain period.

The development of the family started from the continual contraction of the circle originally comprising the whole tribe within which marital intercourse between both sexes was general. By the continual exclusion first of near and then of even remoter relatives, including finally those who were simply related legally all group-marrying becomes impossible. At last one couple, temporarily and loosely united remains. Along with natural selection, the process is rendered practicable and necessary by the developing productive forces, wherein now the division of labour variety of labour increasing wealth make individual households based on a pair economically and socially possible and inevitable.

From this we can easily see how little sexual love of the individual in the modern sense of the term (not at all known in that epoch) had to do with the origin of monogamy. The practice of all nations of that stage still more proves this. While in the previous form of the group family the men were never embarrassed for women but rather had more than enough of them, women now became scarce and were sought after. With the pairing family therefore the abduction and barter of women began (Engels). The earliest traditions of the Vedic lore cannot be expected to mention such practices but we see several of them in the Epic period. Abduction of Rukmini by Krishna, of Subhadra by Arjuna, of Usha by Aniruddha of Prabhavati (daughter of Vajra nabha, brother of Nikumbha) by Pradyumna of Bhanumati by Nikumbha are the noted of them. The same stage invented the *Paishachi* marriage as also the famous *Si e, em rara* system and dress many an enterprising youth in search of a brave deed and a bride who too had her choice of the best in the land!

The fact U s Draupadi had to end up in a difficult position due to her loyalty by her husband was because the circumstances as such was the reason & along with reason there were other and better reasons but still she had to have her former freedom which seemed to her through her own self to have been violated which could not be easily given to her. That is why Draupadi was to be protected by the King in and out.

In order to develop this pairing marriage or family into monogamy, as we know it—i.e., with the supremacy of the man over the woman, in which monogamy is only for the woman—quite a new element had to appear in society, that of private property. In the pairing family, the group was already reduced to its last unit, its bi-atomic molecule, one man and one woman. Natural selection and relation based on natural-economic communism had accomplished its purpose by a continually increasing restriction of the circle of sexual intercourse. Nothing remained to be done in this direction. Unless new social forces, those of private property, father-right and class State entered society, there was no reason for a new form of family to develop out of the pairing family, which, however, was just the historically developed point from which alone monogamy with private property could arise, on the ruins of collectivism and the commune of the barbarian epoch.

Here, we may, for convenience, anticipate later development of the Aryan nation and say that monogamic family is the first form of family based exclusively "on economic conditions—namely, the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism. Supremacy of man in the family and generation of children that could be his offspring alone and were destined to be the heirs of his wealth" (Engels). These were the sole objects of the monogamy of class-ridden society (monogamy of classless society of the future being totally different). This frank and ruthless meaning of monogamy was not hidden by the Aryan law-givers and writers to whom the feelings or chastity of a wife did not matter, provided the man could have a son to inherit, by whomsoever possible, if he himself failed in that aim. For that, therefore, he resorted to *Niyoga* (levirate) to strangers, to hired Brahmins, to forest *Rishis* and dwellers, and every other conceivable agent. Vyas had the wives of Vichitravirya, without which "the great and ideal" Pandavas would not have seen history. Deerghatamas had the wives of Bali, some Brahmin passerby on the road had the wife of Sharadandayana. The *Rishis* had Pandu's wives, though in the later story, the poor gods in heaven are invoked to shelter the part of the earthly *Rishis*. The Aryan

law givers of the age of private property that is, of the Kali age being yet too near the recent reality of pairing family of the *Gana* society were frank enough to lay down the aim of monogamy of the new class society. Manu, the law giver of class society, of the Kali age replacing the *Dharma* of collectivism and the *Maithuna* pairing family of the *Dwajar* age, says that man must strive to protect woman in order to have a progeny that can be attested (hence pure). * That woman is valuable only as a means to beget children is an idea of the age of slavery and private property and class rule. The primitive commune no doubt knew her as one who gave birth to children, but they knew her as their great mother as one who also owned all social wealth along with man, who was the leader and founder of the commune. She was neither mere sex (as in the hired-companion marriages of the modern decadent bourgeoisie) nor mere chattel along with cattle to produce progeny. ** In the new monogamy chastity was easily restored, as *Yajnarekha* says in cases of adultery after the monthly bath or after delivery of the child.† Sure inheritance of property was the divine aim henceforth in marriage wife became cattle the *Arsha* marriage paid a cow and a bull (*Gomithunam*) as her price and Sanskrit grammar fixed the new values in the *Samasa* illustration of *Samahardwandra* by the term

Daragaram —wife and cattle together on the same plane. This was impossible so long as the collective mode of production, with the right of woman to social property was dominant in society.

The communistic household in which most or all the women belong to one and the same gens while the husbands come from different gens (*Gotras*) is the cause and sounda

* प्रसिद्धापद्म शिरस् इति द्वादश । ५३ ॥१—२

** प्रसरापद्म शास्त्रात् वृत्तिपृष्ठेऽस्मिन् ॥१२—१३

तुष्टे त्रिते वस्ति वृत्तिपृष्ठेऽस्मिन् ॥१४—१५

† १८विश्वामी द्वादश वृत्ति वृत्तिपृष्ठेऽस्मिन् ॥१५—१६

says *Yajnarekha*. In the new communal family he based on the inheritance of man, it is necessary that the wife should be a slave of the married man. Only such a woman is worth his coming into her bed. When the wife is made to be the father's property in the hands of the husband, *Yajnarekha* says that

प्रा वृत्तिपृष्ठेऽस्मिन् ॥१६—१७ वृत्तिपृष्ठेऽस्मिन् ॥१८

tion of the general and widespread supremacy of women in *primaeval times*" (Engels) Such a household was possible only on the basis of collective ownership of the instruments of production and the product in which woman's labour was as important a part of social labour as man's The man went to war, hunted, fished, provided the raw material for food and the tools necessary for these pursuits The woman built and cared for the house and prepared food and clothing for the commune. Each sex also owned collectively the tools made and used by it; the men, owners of hunting and warring weapons (and later cattle), the women of household goods The two together meant the *Brahman*, the commune, a figurative recollection of which remained in the *Ardha-nari-nateswar*. There was no production and rival machinery apart from that of the *Gana-Gotra*, in which the woman had not a hand The *Gana-Gotra* arose from her, its kinships were constituted through her When the commune grew and threw out more *Gana-Gotras*, she it was who led them, the great representative of the *primaeval Aditi*, reappearing elsewhere as *Kali-ma* Neither the councils of war nor of food, for which was fought the war, could hold forth without her No wonder she was clothed with the attributes of godhood by ancient man and extant female deities in Hindu myths, bearing witness to the position of women, still tell us the stories of that epoch, now past with the fall of the *Yajna* mode of production and *Brahman* The *Taitteriya Brahmana* (114) does not hesitate to make woman the originator of the great *Yajna* mode, which was known to gods, the *Asuras* and *Manu*, the man. *Ila*, the daughter and wife of *Manu*, went and saw how the gods and *Asuras* did it She found that theirs was a defective method and so also *Manu*'s She came to *Manu* and told him to follow a new method of hers, which would yield greater results *Manu* told her to relay the *Yajna* fire, as she desired The result was that *Manu*, the man, got abundance of *Praja* and *Pashu*, of progeny and cattle.

That was the way the primitive commune organised its production, its *Gana-Gotra* family and marriage, and lived its life, though of comparative poverty, yet free from internal strife and fratricidal or civil wars The *Brahman*

multiplied spread over the world from place to place and fought against those who came in its way or attacked it.

It had no civil wars but it had to fight its tribal wars. We shall therefore, now see how the growing Gana organised its war and war begotten wealth and how with the growing productivity of labour and exchange, it broke down from classlessness to a class State to private property and a new mode of production from savagery and barbarism to civilisation, from Krita Treta age to Dwapar Kali.

Chapter VI

Organisation of Tribal Wars and War-Wealth. Ashwa Medha, Purusha Medha and Danam

WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR the economic and kin organisation of the *Gana* commune. We shall now see how the *Gana-Gotra* migrated, when economic and kin laws necessitated a part of the *Gana* to split and found new communes. One more very vital aspect of the life of the *Ganas* are the wars that they have to fight against the hostile tribes around them. The organisation of war and the wealth captured therein is a very important factor in the life of the developing Aryan *Ganas*. We shall see how it is done, again from the same source, namely the *Yajna*.

When the population grew, the weak primitive technology could not hold large groups together as is possible today. The *Gana-Gotras* split and spread over the whole continent of Asia, seizing spaces where they were empty, and battling for them where they were not. Migrations of the *Gotra* children due to economic necessity and the ban on consanguine marriage, referred to in the last chapter, are distinctly recorded and their procedure also laid down in Aryan *Yajna* ritual.

In the Gotra of Asikni, according to the *Hariavansha* they had five thousand children, that is, the common off springs of the commune. These in turn were going to have children and hence an economic crisis threatened the commune. Narada, who in Hindu mythology is habitually sent to smooth over crises and quarrels by advice of compromising or promoting fights appears and warns the children that unless they migrate and bring up new communes there would be poverty and crisis as there was not enough food and productive resources for such a big growth. Accordingly the gens split and a part migrated never to return. Daksha *Prajapati* produced on Asikni one thousand more children, who again had to be disposed of in the same way.

This search for new homes and founding of new gens could not be a simple peaceful affair. The physical face of the earth had yet to be cleared up of innumerable obstacles for the development of man, whose resources though growing were not yet equal to the task. From land to land the Aryans had to roam to find suitable homelands. One such obstacle surviving in the pre-historical memories of man is the floods of torrential rivers etc., which are a common inheritance in the mythology of all peoples. Manu's civilisation was wiped out by floods but he was saved by a fish and is reported to have landed somewhere in the Hima Jayas to begin the creation again. So are the floods of the Biblical record, the Noah's Ark, etc., etc. *Vendidad Far gard II* (C 3 000 B C) mentions sixteen lands in which the tribes settled and from which they had to migrate for a variety of reasons apart from the necessity of sending out growing population. The *Vendidad* the *Vedas* of the Parsees says "Angra Mainyu sent the floods. Ahur Mazda called Yima ruler of Airyana Vaejo and warned him. Yima made people happy by thrice enlarging the boundaries of the country which had become too narrow for the inhabitants. Ahur Mazda created sixteen lands and one by one Angra Mainyu plagued them." We are not concerned here with the details of these migrations, we are only con-

cerned to see how growing material resources created new problems and how society solved them.

It would not be uninteresting to see the procedure of the march of these growing and splitting *Gana-Gotras*. This can be seen again in the same *Agnistoma* and *Shadratna Kratu*, which we have noticed before. *Agnistoma Somayaga*, which is a very long *Yajna*, has been interpreted and explained as a migration procedure of the Aryans by Kunte in his *Vicissitudes*, but we think it is not wholly a migration procedure but also includes the actions of the daily life of the Aryan commune.

The season to begin the migration is chosen to be spring, the season for breeding of cattle and blossoming of fruits and flowers, and the starting-day either the full-moon day or the *Amavasya*, the full black night about to break into the moon period. The leaders of the commune, the *Ritvijas*, assemble round the common fire and there it is decided who is to go and in what groups. Those who choose and are chosen are given the *Deeksha*. They are provided with new clothes and taken through a ceremony imitating the actions of their new birth as children of the new *Gana*. They get all the provisions for the new home—pots, pans, cattle, goats, wine, corn, carts carrying camping equipments, etc. One cart carries the fire from the original home to become the founder of the new. The migration is an occasion for a great feast. The whole commune dines, drinks and revels. Those who depart take vows of cooperation and sinlessness and the whole caravan leaves, armed to the teeth, against the *Rakshasa* enemies and wild beasts.

How long would they march and when would they call halt? We may get some idea of this if we take the help of the *Shadratra Kratu* or *Saraswat Satra*. In the absence of the world territory being privately appropriated and bounded by States, there was no definite land mass to which they were driving in a planned manner. Hence to the new *Gana*, the direction, distance and area were decided by other factors. In the *Saraswat Satra* it is shown that when the march has started, the *Adhwaryu* leader carrying the *Shami* wood (of latent fire) marches forward and selects the place of camping after one day's journey. Taking rest there in

the usual *Yajna* manner the march goes on. The emigres have been provided with ten cows and one bull to begin their life. You may march on, find pasture-land and occupy enough of it to provide for a hundred cows. The *Gana* must find enough space and resources for a population based on a herd of one hundred cows and some bulls, a few hundred sheep and goats (When later on the productivity of labour increased, this limit seems to have increased to a thousand cows which most probably signifies that townships are growing and the *Gana* is going down.) The most primitive commune of a hundred cows should have consisted of how much population? There is no indication. But we can attempt a finding. The *Arsha* marriage in later law equates as we saw before one wife with one cow and one bull. If one wife or woman in monogamy is one family we may say the above *Devasatra* expected a hundred families to form the maximum limit of a *Gana*. Manu, in his chapter on evidence before law courts in the *Kali* age relates a peculiar conception of his time that one who gave false evidence in respect of a cow incurred the sin of killing ten relatives. In Manu's time the exchange value of man (as a slave) had fallen a great deal than in the days of the commune when there was no slavery. Thus it would appear that the *Gana* should have consisted at the most of not more than five hundred souls. However this has not much direct relation to our main point, except to show how production technique imposed a limit on the size of the aggregate population.

In the search for space and wealth the *Gana* was sometimes annihilated by disease and death or enemies. A *Gana* weakened by loss of people injected new blood in its system by adoption of people from another *Gana-Gotra* or wholly amalgamated with another. In those days of difficult means of communication and no means of contact in daily life between widely separated people the different segmenting *Gana-Gotras* and tribes evolved their own dialects very fast and would soon appear as almost complete aliens to their mother *Gana* in course of time. Large-scale adoptions and amalgamations in such cases would create mixed language in the new tribes and *Ganas*. Sanskrit

language is full of such peculiarities and grammarians, devoid of a background of social history, have vainly broken their heads in explaining the use of these peculiarities. The great grammarian Panini, for example, in order to derive twenty-one forms of the seven cases of the pronouns, I and Thou, (*Asmad* and *Yushmad* in Sanskrit) had to write twenty-three rules, which means they are no rules at all. These could only be explained on the basis of amalgamation of tribes and gens and not by the action of mutation through passage of time, as personal pronouns are the toughest to any such change².

The procedure of adoption in a *Gana*, of a stranger either singly or in groups, is called *Vratyastoma* in the *Yajna* ritual. That this adoption is not the same as the adoption of an heir to property by the monogamic family of the later age is clear from the fact that the adopted did not belong to any individual family because none had so far come into existence in the *Gana* family. The *Yajna* ritual only took the stranger, who was not a kin, into the kinship of the *Gana* and as such admitted him into the economic and social life of the commune and saved him from annihilation, which was the fate of all strangers, who *ipso facto*, because of being non-kins of a different tribe, were considered hostile and inimical, and killed off as such, when captured.

The migrating *Gana* had to engage in wars with hostile tribes, in its search for pastures and cattle-raising areas. The *Rigveda* is full of such wars, waged by the *Deva-Ganas*. The *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharat* and the traditional stories of lineage and descent in all mythologies are full of the perpetual feuds between the various *Ganas*, the *Ganas* of Aditi, Vasu, Rudra, Dyaus, Diti and others. Many of these most

² The problem was solved by Rajwade by finding the original word to be quite different from that of Panini

See “स्सकृन भाषेचा उल्लङ्घा”

Speaking of the Iroquois, Engels says

“Tribe and dialect are substantially co-extensive, the formation through segmentation of new tribes and dialects was still proceeding in America until quite recently, and most probably has not entirely stopped today. When two weakened tribes have merged into one, the exceptional case occurs of two closely-related dialects being spoken in the same tribe. The average strength of American tribes is under 2,000” (*Origin of Family*).

ancient warring *Ganas* are known by their mother names. But the *Rigveda* period wars especially those of the ten kings and known after Sudas and Divodas, are wars of *Ganas* headed by patriarchs, and obviously belong to that period when mother right had been overthrown and patriarchy was on the way to private property slavery and class war. But right up to that period, even under the patriarchs, the wars retain the character of being the wars of one *Gana* or a federation of *Ganas* against another. Secondly they are wars frankly undertaken for cattle, water pasture-land. Thirdly the enemies of the Aryans such as the Asuras Daityas Rakshasas the *Ahis* and *Dasas* were also of the gentile organisation of the *Yajna* mode. This is clear from the fact that they also are shown to be performing *Yajna* with their *Agni*, but in the "wrong manner" with wrong *Mantras* and hence wrong result according to the *Devas*. Fourthly the mode of conducting the war and the mode of disposal of the acquired wealth is the typical *Gana* mode that is disposal of conquered wealth is not by private appropriation by a class nor is the leadership and conduct of the war in the hands of a hired standing army as in a class State.

We do not know where and how long these gens and tribes acknowledging descent from the common mothers, Diti, Aditi, Danu, Vasu, Kadru Vinata Bhanu and others living in the primitive communist manner occupied Aryan history and its battles. Only we can say that they were gentile commune organisations based on the collective mode of production. Though in popular mythology today these gods have been endowed with immortality omniscience power to do or undo the world their origin of being nothing but human is not very much hidden or forgotten. The *Atharvaveda* distinctly says' that the *Devas* were mortal beings. So does the *Shatpatha Brahmana* describe them as a class of mortal beings and the *Aiteriya Brahmana* puts Indra Agni and Prajapati in the same category.

Not only are they mortal beings but their social organisation being of the *Gana* type is specifically mentioned. The

tribe of Vasus had 8 *Ganas*, Rudras had 11, Maruts had 21; Adityas had 12, Rubhus had 3, and so on The Deva-*Ganas* had segmented and spread out into many gens, and after a lapse of time had become so far removed from the ties of kinship and language that they had become aliens to each other and fought among themselves for cattle and wealth There were such as Puradeva, Muradeva, Shishnadeva, Shuradeva, and so on The *Rigveda* mentions a big feud between the Deva-*Ganas* and the Panis The latter had stolen the cattle-herds of the Deva-*Ganas*, whose leader in this war was a woman, Sharama She leads the Devas through rivers and forests and finds the Panis and war ensues In the Deva-Asura wars, mythology holds that the Asuras originally belonged to the Deva-*Ganas* stock

We have already seen that the commune in its peacetime economy had the elected functionaries called the *Adhwaryu*, the *Hota*, etc In the *Gana* they were not a privileged, irremovable, standing, paid executive like that of the modern State or the executives of the exploiting classes, directing the production of profit for the exploiters They were themselves producers elected to do the work of direction of communal labour and receiving, before differentiation of property came in, as much as the others from the social fund

As in peace, so in war Production of food and war almost meant the same thing in many cases So much so that one of the Sanskrit words for war is "Gavishti", also meaning a small *Yajna* to get cows The whole commune being an armed organisation and a differentiation or division of labour not having as yet set in, war was the function of the commune as a whole, though it was fought by men Naturally in early stages the same chief *Adhwaryu*, who functioned in the *Yajna*, directed war also, for the same reason, in the early beginnings of Aryan history, we find no such differentiation as a chief for war and chief for peace economy, the former being a *Kshetriya Rajan*, and the latter a Brahmin *Purohita* For the same reason, we find famous warriors being Brahmins as leaders of *Brahman*, the commune collective, whose special task in later periods is supposed to be performance of *Yajna* only

As among all barbarians every communal act, thing or surrounding is endowed with godhood and made a subject of religious ceremony so among the Aryans also. When the *Brahman* or *Gana* commune elected its chief of war, he became *Brahmanaspati*, *Bruhaspati*, or *Ganapati*. The most learned adviser of the gods in their wars with the *Asuras* was called *Bruhaspati*. *Ganapati* has survived among the Hindus as the god, who has to be invoked at the beginning of every function. All the three names signify the chief, the leader of the commune who has to lead them in war and peace. As their representative and leader the commune gave him his share (*Havi*) from the common produce for maintenance and called upon him to destroy the enemies and lead the way to wealth. The *Ganapati Atharva Sheersha* describes this *Gana* leader as wearing red-dyed clothes carrying a throwing rope a three-pointed spear and a big elephant tooth as his weapons to fight the enemies. When the *Gana* fought and annihilated the enemy it took his cattle and other wealth captured the women and children bound the men prisoners of war and returned to its *Gana* home.

Now the *Ganapati* had another task to do. The war loot is not private property it belongs to the *Gana*. Such of it as can be consumed individually awaits distribution. The *Gana* calls upon the *Ganapati* to mount up the central seat kept for him (*Asandi*) with the wealth for distribution. It is a great occasion for feast and enjoyment. The brave and successful leader and along with him the commune is praised. He is *Ganapati*, he is *Priyapati* he is *Nidhipati*. As such he presides at the distribution of conquered wealth and the feast of the *Gana*.

The first to form the sacred food of the feast for the *Agni* fire and the commune is that horse which entered the territory of the enemy first. That is the leading horse of the *Ashura Medha Yajna*. He is given a bath and shown round to the people and then tied to the sacrificial post.

But before he is slaughtered the *Gana* feasts on the usual meat and wine which is then followed by the men and women joining in a call for the sex dance which the

Ganapati is asked to lead The feast of the group-mating is enjoyed as was the custom of the *Gana* days

This sex dance is, however, an occasion for a little dis-harmony, and the cause is the arrival of the new element, the captured women prisoners They also are a gift to the commune, like all other things seized in war They are assimilated in the *Gana* through the group-marriage rights of the *Gana*, like the original wives of the *Gana*. In this revel and bid for the new beauties, some of the *Ganikas*, i.e., the original *Gana* wives, become neglected and remain without partners They lament the lack of attention of the males in a manner which cannot be described here The *Shukla Yajur-veda* describes this as *Vilap* and in that dialogue, called *Khshatta-Palagali-Samvad*, which is part of the *Yajna* ritual, it is described in a language which would be considered highly obscene today but was admissible and holy then.

After this feast and adoption of women, the commune has to discharge two more duties, which again are the subject matter of *Purusha Medha* and the *Brahma Medha*, the former being the disposal of the male war prisoners and the latter of those killed in battle

In the very early stages of its growth, the productive capacity of the commune, with the crude instruments at its disposal, is not such that the producer can produce enough for himself to replace his labour-power and also to yield a surplus Hence at such a stage there is no room for slaves being brought into the social organisation and employed as such for the benefit of its owners When war prisoners were captured, some of them for considerations of strength, beauty, skill in medicinal knowledge, etc., were adopted in the commune On adoption they became full-fledged kins—that is, members What is to be done with the others, for whom there is no place in the poor economy of the commune, in which they would be so many more “mouths” and not “hands”? Of course, they had to be killed They are the enemies of the commune and are offered to the great fire-god Agni in the *Purusha Medha* This *Medha* is neither a remnant of cannibalism nor the head-hunting custom attributed to the barbarian tribes by certain scholars The Aiyans may have passed here and there through a stage of

cannibalism due to extreme shortage of food and poor productive forces. But if the *Purusha Medha* were a remnant in ritual form of that stage the ceremony would have provided for at least some symbolic eating of the slaughtered being, as is done in all other cases. The available ritual does not anywhere give such indication. It lays down that on the third day of the *Yajna*, wherein there are eleven posts for tying sacrificia... animals, all the animals tied to the posts are killed as usual. Then the men (called *Narapashu* men-animals) who are to be killed and are standing in between the spaces of eleven posts are offered to the various deities. The presiding functionary of the *Yajna* called the *Brahma*, sings *Richas* from the *Purushasukta* and, taking a piece of burning wood, waves its around them three times. After this they are all released not killed. Whereas in the ordinary course the fire-god would have got pieces of their bodies as *Ahutis* ghee is poured into his mouth as a substitute for now depriving him of his prev

The waving of fire round the victims and their dedication certainly shows that at one time they were killed and burnt. But in the extant ritual, they are not killed but released. Why? Not because the Aryans have become merciful. A people whose laws at later stages provided for flogging mutilating and beheading of men and women for the smallest crimes and massacred people in thousands in their wars with the *Anaryans*, could not have gone suddenly humanitarian and refused to kill or eat these men animals. The simple reason was that the present ritual belongs to a period when prisoners had ceased to be killed and were converted into slaves. Social technology had progressed and man's labour got the capacity to produce a surplus. It became valuable to the owners who would own the man alive rather than allow god Agni to eat him dead. To kill war prisoners became a waste a thing positively harmful to the Aryans, who now began to convert them into slaves—that most useful institution which later entered Aryan society on the corpse of the free and equalitarian commune.

That this change came later and changed the original character of the *Purusha Medha* as the ceremony of massacre of war prisoners of the *Gana* is suggested quite posl

tively in the fact that in the present *Vidhi* or ritual the men are offered in terms of the *Purushasukta* verses, which is a *Sukta* of the subsequent slave-constitution of the Aryan *Gana*, when *Varnas*, slaves, private property and State have arisen therein. We shall see this later on.

There still remains the disposal of those kins killed in war. No special ceremony apart from the usual disposal of the dead is observed in this. The burning of the dead, whether in war or otherwise, is not an individual concern, contrary to the opinion of some writers. It is also a *Yajna* ritual and it carries the significant name of *Brahma Medha*. The present ritual says that a person who has accepted *Agni-hotra* alone, when dead, is dealt with according to the *Shraut Vidhi* (i.e., old *Vedic* rites) and it is called *Brahma Medha*. All other persons' bodies are dealt with according to the later *Smriti* rites. And then it is called *Pitri Medha*. *Smriti* rites obviously are of recent origin. In the early *Yajna* society the whole commune was *Agni-hotri*. Hence every death was treated as a *Brahma Medha* of the whole commune. The dying man as a kin was a limb of the commune, the *Brahman*. His death was a partial death of the whole *Gana* itself. It was a common rite and duty of the whole *Brahman* to join in the *Medha*.

Critics who object to the proposition that the Aryans had a gentile or *Gana* organisation, just as any other barbarian people, put forward the argument that according to the Morganite definition of a gen, there must be a common burial ground (or burning in the *Agni*?) for the *Gana* members which they say the Aryans have not got. The *Brahma Medha* ritual is a reply, as shown above, to these critics.

In order to complete the picture, there remains the distribution of other booty captured. All the feasting, dancing, the disposal of men and women prisoners would not be complete without settling the question of the captured wealth, cattle, pots, ornaments, dresses, etc. This act is the subject of what is known as *Danam*, usually wrongly translated as a gift or charity, by *Vedic* scholars.

We have already pointed out that in the peacetime

* Viz., Karandikar in his *Hindu Exogamy*

economy the daily proceeds of collective labour, when distributed to individual members and consumed and appropriated by them, were characterised as *Havana Hati, Huta shesha* or *Yajnashista*. The distribution to the commune of goods acquired in war or of durable goods which were held on account of the commune and were distributed from time to time at a festive time, such as weapons, clothing pottery etc., were characterised as *Danam*. It is this which the *Brahmanaspati* is to do when he is asked to ascend the seat with 'Utibhiih'* (with presents) In the *Atharvaveda* he is called upon 'to divide the wealth' in the words 'Vibhaja Vasooni' It is worth while to note that the *Ganapati* is addressed as "Hi Vaso" the wealth is called "Vasooni", and that the *Vasus* are a *Gana-Samgha*, acknowledging descent from a common mother *Vasu*.

Danam distribution here is not the private function of the tribal chief dependent upon his will to do or not to do because the conquered wealth belongs to the commune *Dana* like *Havana* is a social function only held at certain intervals, when the commune requires it and at the end of every war or expedition. Hence in commune ideology, it is generally associated with war-chiefs, with *Ganapati* or *Brahmanaspati*. The word *Danam* in the *Rigveda* means "distribution generally As such it had no significance of charity or favour in it.

When common property and the commune broke down when war became the function of the king and his class of *Kshatras* when wealth accumulated in private households of these *Kshatriyas* when proceeds of war instead of being considered communal as of old began to be considered the property of the king and the ruling class, then *Danam*-distribution of the common-conquered wealth, instead of being a compulsory social function and duty of the war-chief *Ganapati*, became a private duty of the king and the ruling class. If they did it, it was virtue. In people's minds it was so much attached with the war-chief that if the king in later periods did not do *Danam*, he was considered a bad king

* गणानो यजा गणानि हवामहे । अर्थे वरी यज् यज्ञम् । अप्तम् । वदेष्व अप्तानि वदेष्व एति यज् यज्ञम् क्वाम् दीर्घ यज्ञम् । अ ३

But if he failed, there was no communal right and force to compel him to do it because the commonalty had been disarmed and suppressed, it was now a class rule. *Danam* became now a voluntary virtue and charity of the kings and Kshatras. It also lost the character of an equal and general distribution. It remained within the discretion of the private donor to select his donee. The ruling class selected its own favourites and enriched them by *Danam* at the expense of the people. Hence arose differences of good *Danam* and bad *Danam*, and followed the moral discussions (viz. *Geeta*) regarding the *Desh*, *Kala*, *Patra* for a *Danam* (Place, time and object of *Danam* decide as to whether it is good or bad type of charity and would bring virtue or sin to the donor). Such a discussion or question just had no place in the days of the commune. *Danam* under the commune was a protection, as of right, against starvation for the sick, the aged, the maimed and the weak, who had the first claim on social property. But when private property and class rule arose, *Danam* became its very opposite, it was converted from an instrument of social insurance to one of primitive enrichment of a class, that of Kshatras and Brahmins, i.e., the ruling class.

The distribution of social property created or conquered by the *Gana* commune formed an essential part of the *Yajna* mode and hence *Dana* and *Yajna* became inseparable. In fact, *Danam* and *Havana* is the mode of collective distribution—in the *Yajna* mode of collective production. But later on, under private property and class rule, *Dana* and *Havana* became the mode of private appropriation of social product.

The successful wars led by the bravest and most skilful *Ganapati* could live in the commune memory by the amount of booty in goods and women added to the commune and distributed by the war leader. These were commemorated in the *Danasuktas* and formed a part of social record. Thus arose the *Danasuktas*.

The same practice of record continued when the *Dana* ceased to be part of commune *Yajna* and became the private affair of the king and his class. The composer then appeared as a private recipient *Purohit* of the *daibar* of the king. But *Vedic* scholars (Oldenberg, Winternitz, Ketkar and others)

one and all have completely misunderstood the function and import of *Dana* as of all the *Yajna* institutes and hence of *Danasuktas* and their composers, whom they falsely describe as being merely hired composers of gift giving kings.

The *Vedic Danasukta* in its original, not the later form, was an essential part of the social mode of production and distribution, a social duty executed on behalf of the commune, which shared in the distribution and praise as a whole and hence inspired its composers or *Purohit Rishis* to sing the record of victory, wisdom and valour of its leader *Ganapati* and the consequent communal joy of *Danam*. The tradition continued and stuck to the new king-State, when private property and slavery arose. On the breakdown of the *Yajna* mode in its essentials and on the enthronement of the exploiters' State *Danasukta* as an institution also vanished.

The *Gana* distribution of the *Hutashesha* or *Havana* also underwent the same transformation. Whatever food was there was for all to consume without distinction. The *Satra* law enjoined it. There was no question of a private householder cooking 'his own food' on his own *Agni*, for himself separately since he and his "own" did not exist. When private property and households came, the *Yajna* law persisted to claim a share, but now only by the propertyless and houseless, who hounded the private householders. Thus arose the moral code that those who cooked only for themselves without a thought of other beings around in need of food were denounced as "eaters of sin"*. But private property and its class only laughed at such denunciations, the protesting ghosts of commune morality!

Just as the function and duty of the war-chief or *Gana* chief to give *Danam* attached to the king and the *Kshatra* class in the new class society the right of the Brahman, the commune to control the distribution of *Dana* and to receive it, as also *Havana* and *Hutashesha* transferred itself in the new class society to another section of the ruling class namely the Brahmins, who as conductors of the *Yajna* process the *Vedas* and the consequent intellectual inheritance

became the possessors of its proceeds Brahmins constituted themselves alone as the real successors of the *Brahman*, the commune, and as such receivers of all *Dana* and *Havana*.

Thus the production relations of the commune produced their own ideology and forms, but when the commune and the natural constitutional forms of its property broke down, the remnants of the old ideology and moral values, which still continued to struggle for existence, were seized and wielded by the new classes in their own class interests, in their own way Aryan society soon saw, with the rise of private property and class society, how a moral law, a common interest under collectivism that was a guarantee of protection against starvation and of equitable distribution for all people in the commune, turned into its very opposite in class society; how it became a source of oppression, monopoly and concentration of property in the hands of a small class of exploiters and a cause of starvation to the majority of the toilers, to the weak, the maimed, the sick and the aged propertyless, to the vast mass of the poor householders, to the slaves and serfs in the new *Kali* age of civilisation

Chapter VII

Rise of Varnas, Private Property and Classes

WITH THE HELP of the Vedic records and the Epics we saw how the Aryan community worked in the collective lived and grew wielding the great discoveries of new instruments of production namely fire and domestication of cattle and the consequent development of its productive forces for stability and progress.

But the productive forces never remain static. The road of development progressed from one stage to another affecting social organisation man's life and ideology.

Aryan man along with his brothers of the Semitic Turanian and other groups, was more fortunate than some of the other members of the human family inasmuch as he found valuable cattle in the wild stage that could be domesticated and used for sustaining life. The Asiatic regions of Aryan man abounded in this cattle which was not the case for example with the American continent. The classic land of cattle breeding and consequent growth of civilisation is Asia. Engels says

"In Asia they found animals which could be tamed and once tamed, bred. The wild buffalo-cow had to be hunted the tame buffalo-cow gave a calf yearly on 1

milk as well. A number of the most advanced tribes—the Aryans Semites and perhaps already also the Turanians¹—now made their chief work first the taming of cattle later their breeding and tending only. The pastoral tribes separated themselves out from the mass of other barbarians. *The first great social division of labour.* The pastoral tribes produced not only more necessities of life than the other barbarians, but different ones. They possessed the advantage over them of having not only milk, milk products and great supplies of meat, but also skins, wool, goat-hair and spun and woven fabrics, which became more common as the amount of raw material increased. Thus for the first time regular exchange became possible.

"At the earlier stages only occasional exchanges can take place, particular skill in the matter of weapons and tools may lead to a *temporary division of labour*. Thus in many places undoubtedly remains of workshops for the making of stone-tools have been found dating from the later Stone Age, the artists who here perfected their skill probably worked for the whole community, as each special handicraftsman still does in the gentile communities of India. In no case could exchange arise at this stage, except within the tribe itself and then only as an exceptional event."

This passage of Engels has already been corroborated from the *Vedic* traditions mentioned in previous chapters. It was these temporary divisions of labour and occasional exchange which are the cause of the occasional mention of the process denoted by the words "*Kraya-Vikraya*," (to sell, to exchange) in the very early *Vedic* verses. There regular trade as such, of the later *Brahmana* and *Smriti* age, has not come into existence, but its seeds are growing. Though tool-makers and skilled men were found and did their jobs for the commune, like the early makers of Indra's *Vajra* or the often praised and often mentioned *Takshana* and *Rathakar*, the Aryan commune, to begin with, had no internal division of labour, dividing the members into so many

¹ The Turvash of the five sons of Yayati referred to before—S A.D.

of work, is the exchange of products as commodities. In the one case, it is the making dependent what was before independent, in the other case, the making independent what was before dependent."

This very long quotation from Marx describes for us what happened in the early development of the Aryan tribes. The Aryan commune internally started on the road to division of labour due to the growing multiplicity of products, tasks and functions. The members of a whole commune get differentiated and tied to different tasks and become crystallised into *Varnas*. But this crystallisation into *Varnas* at the early stages, due to the absence of private property and collective ownership of the principal means of production, does not allow the *Varnas* to become hostile classes as they do later on.

The earliest division of labour in the Aryan commune began where in the *Yajna* mode the various *Ritvijas*, who formerly were all one, become differentiated into seventeen categories leading *Yajna* labour in its various branches of production. But these divisions, being occasional and not based upon exchange at first could not crystallise into *Varnas*.

But when tribal society advanced and various Aryan tribes (the spread out *Ganas* of their own antiquity and others) clashed or came into friendly contact, exchange of products surplus to the *Ganas* began. The different products of the different *Ganas* are exchanged and the repetition of this exchange their repeated demand, mutually begins to affect production internally inside each *Gana* in those branches whose products are in demand at the places of exchange by the various communes. Thus variety of products internally and exchange of those products externally brings about and fixes up the division of labour in society and creates the *Varnas* of the Aryan commune.

But the division of labour slowly insinuates itself into the process of production. It undermines the collectivity of production and appropriation elevates appropriation by individuals into the general rule and this creates exchange

between individuals" (Engels) Once that stage has been reached, private property and classes are born The Varnas metamorphose into contradictory classes and take the path of civil war, class war. The primitive commune dies, never to return.

Does this historical development, which we have outlined in terms of the science of historical materialism, receive any support from the Vedic and Epic traditions in the literature of the Hindus? Though they cannot be expected to give us their origins in the above way, do they give us some basis in their own barbarian way to come to the above conclusion? They do

The source of this information is, as usual, the stories of Creation as given by the *Vedic* authors Every new problem that confronted that society was discussed as a problem of Creation undertaken by the *Brahman* or the *Prajapati* The problem of the rise of the *Varnas*, in a society which had no *Varnas* and no division of labour of that type, is presented to us as a part of the science of Creation.

The *Varnas* of Aryan society were first three in number and later became four Hence the stories of Creation discuss in some places the three *Varnas*, in some the four But it is accepted by all that at first there was no *Varna* at all or only one, then came three and later was added the fourth, *the fourth one being not a real Varna originally arising out of that society itself*

The *Satpatha Brahmana* (II, 1-4-11) tells us what *Prajapati*, the Creator of the people, brought forth * We find him giving birth to different trios where formerly there was none The sets of trios are first *Bhu*, *Bhuval*, *Swah*, the other set is the earth, the sky and the atmosphere in-between, the third trio is *Brahma*, *Kshatra* and *Visha*, i.e., the three *Varnas*, the fourth trio is himself or the soul (*Atman*), the *Praja* or people, and cattle In this story the trio of the *Vedas* was missing, so the *Taitteriya Brahmana*

* इति वै प्रगापतिरजनयत । यवतावद् वै इदम् मर्वम्

१ भूः भुवः स्वः

२ इमाम् अजनयत अन्तरिक्षम् दिवम्

३ ब्रह्म क्षत्रम् विशम्

४ अत्मा प्रजाः पश्वः

(III, 12-9-2) follows another scheme and tells us that at first it was all *Brahman* from whom arose this Creation. Then it tells us that each *Veda* gave off one *Varna*. In this the order is that the most ancient *Rigveda* gives off the *Vaisya*, the *Samaveda* gives off the *Brahmana* and the *Yajus* gives off the *Kshatriya*. Both these authors do not mention the *Sudra* as the fourth *Varna*. The third account in the *Tanteriya Samhita* of the *Yajurveda* (VII, 1-1-4) makes a still more detailed division. *Prajapati* has the desire to produce and then from his mouth, his chest and hands, his waist and his feet grow forth the four *Varnas*. But the peculiarity of this account is that each *Varna* is born with one deity for itself one *Chhandas* or rhythm, and one *animal*. We will not go into the detailed allotments of each. We only note that while the first three *Varnas* get a deity each, the fourth, the *Sudra* slave alone has no deity. But curiously enough he has all the other things, i.e., *Chhanda*, *animal*, and *Stoma*, like everyone else. The animals allotted are the goat (*Ajas*) for *Brahmins*, sheep (*Avis*) for the *Kshatriya*, the cow for the *Vaisya* and the horse for the *Sudra*.

What is the outstanding common feature of all these stories? The Aryan historian, with all his confusion between man animal and the world wishes us to know that he knew that at first it was all one *Brahman*, then grew the three or four *Varnas* that the first three sprang from the same homogeneous society of *Gana Gotras* hence they had deities, while the fourth had none being an alien conquered slave that the development of cattle and wealth went with development of men and their *Varnas* that *Varnas* grew and crystallised as the *Vedas* differentiated and the mode of *Yajna* production evolved through its various phases. The tremendous efforts that the social writers of that age are making to find some logic in the whole growth of man and his world point to us the essential facts of the situation though not their true scientific historical connection. That was possible because the authors noted what they saw.

The *Satpatha Brahmana* (XIV 4-2-23) is still more explicit on one point. It says that this *Brahman* in the beginning was only one and undivided. It must be remembered here

that this *Brahman* is not that one of the later *Upanishadic* philosophy. But this one undivided state would not lead to growth, progress and development. And so it began to divide and to give forth new forms like that of the *Kshatra* and its *Indra*, *Varuna*, etc.^{*} Even then it would not progress, then it gave forth the *Visha*, with their *Gana* gods, and so on.

Thus the *Vedic* memory, outlining for us the observed lines of growth of the Aryan communes, tells us that as instruments of production progressed, cattle and wealth grew and the population multiplied, the variety of products at the disposal of these communes and their relations with others called forth, in obedience to the laws of historical development, the division of labour in society, that is, the *Varna* divisions, with their different functions. What was one whole commune, with all its members bound to and dependent on each other, became differentiated into independent *Varna* organs of the same society, and what were scattered into various independent *Ganas* were subjugated or brought into one fold and made dependent on each other in a growing world, as Marx says. The dominating factor in all this was the production, distribution and exchange of life's necessities, which formerly built the *Brahman* commune and now the newly growing *Varna* society.

Social division of labour and exchange reacted upon each other and together developed production. Two new achievements in the instruments of production were carried out at this stage. One was the invention of *agriculture* and secondly the invention of the *smelting of ores* and the loom.[†] In the climate of the Black Sea steppes and the Turanian plateau, "pastoral life is impossible without supplies of fodder for the long and severe winter, here, therefore, it was essential that land should be put under grass and corn cultivated. But when once corn had been grown for the cattle, it also soon became food for men."[‡] Agricultural land became

* ब्रह्म वै इम् य ासीत् एकम् एव । तद् एवम् मन्त्रव्यभ-त् ।

तत् श्रयो रूपम् अत्यसूजन क्षत्रम् गानि पनानि देवना क्षत्राणि इन्द्रो

वर्ण �etc etc म-प वृग्म त-प तिक्ष्म सूजन । and so on

[†] Then appear the *Ayaskar* (smelter) and *Tantuvaya* (weaver) of the *Rigveda* at this stage.

[‡] Engels, *Origin of the Family*.

the new instrument of production in the hands of the commune.

The invention of smelting first was limited to copper and tin and their alloy bronze, which provided serviceable tools and weapons, though it could not displace stone tools, which only iron could do. Gold and silver were beginning to be used for decoration, but had not yet become money. Alongside of agriculture arose handicrafts. But such manifold activities were not possible for one and the same individual hence the second great division of social labour took place handicrafts separated off from agriculture. With the splitting up of production into the two great main branches, agriculture and handicrafts, arises production directly for exchange commodity production. With exchange came commerce and with growing commerce the precious metals began to be the predominant and general money commodity. Whereas formerly only the most universally useful commodity cattle had served as money their place was now taken by the precious metals.

How does all this affect the mutual relations of the members of the *Gana* commune their property and production relations?

The new forces of production caused a revolution in the commune in its social or property relations.

As stated already the social division of labour into *Varnas* destroyed collectivity of production. The common *Yajna* mode round the common fire with common consumption gave place to the separate households with separate fires. Along with the great commune-fire *Tretagni* now arises the *Grhya* fire of the private householder.¹ With the end of collectivity of production comes the end of collective consumption or appropriation of the product. Individual labour individual appropriation and individual exchange become dominant, that is, private property has come into existence within the womb of the commune.

¹ At this point begins, then, the development of the *Grihyasutras* and the *Grihyakarmas* of the *Aitareyveda*. Because it arises as a fall and break-away of private property from the ancient God-given common property and the *Tretagni* of the three *Vedas*, the *Aitareyveda* (as well as *Grhyas*), were not given the same sacred and high place as the other three *Vedas*. The *Triyaya* and *Trividya* had a special honor.

Individual production and appropriation creates inequality of property, that is, the commune gives birth to two classes, the rich and poor, the exploiters and exploited, and soon after, slave-owners and slaves

To begin with, where do these riches concentrate and predominate?

The growing commune in its division of labour is forced to assign the task of the conduct of wars and of protection to certain elected heads and individuals, who become the Kshatra. Similarly the task of observation of seasons, floods, rivers, etc., to direct social-economic effort, devolve on some who become the Brahmins. The rest are the Vishas, the real demos, the numerous majority* of cattle breeders, handicraftsmen and agriculturists. Yet till now they are all in one and the same commune. This is the internal division of labour. In the absence of private property this division had not yet led to contradictory hostile classes of the exploiters and exploited.

The tribal wars and exchange of commodities at first take place through the *Ganapatis*, *Bruhaspatis* or *Prajapatis* of the commune, belonging to the Brahma and Kshatra Varnas. Captured prisoners, cattle and wealth first come to them, and to the commune through them. Commerce develops naturally through them and so does money.

Gradually, therefore, when collectivity begins to break down, property-money concentrates at the points of exchange, in the hands of Kshatra and Brahma, with the *Prajapatis* and *Ganapatis*. Society is ready to split into classes, the propertied Kshatra-Brahma on one side and the toiling Vishas on the other, the Rich and Poor. The appearance of precious metals (*Hiranya*—gold) as money through commerce makes the accumulation of property or riches easier than before. The Kshatra and Brahma begin to vaunt forth as the owners of cattle, corn, money and, later on, slaves.

It must, however, be borne in mind here that the exploiter rich and exploited poor are not completely co-extensive with the Brahma-Kshatra on one side and the Visha-Sudra on the other. While most of the Brahma-

* दे भूर्यासः । तैत्ति. सहिता ७-१-१-४

Kshatra fell in the exploiter class, there were poor Brahmas-Kshatra also on level with the poor Visha.

The rise of the three *Varnas* takes place simultaneously with the rise of slavery the Sudra Varna. Why? Because slavery arises out of the same momentum that brought forth the *Varnas*—the variety and rising productivity of labour and exchange. "Hardly had men begun to exchange than already they themselves were being exchanged" (Engels)

Engels says

"The increase of production in all branches—cattle-raising agriculture, domestic handicrafts—gave human labour power the capacity to produce a larger product than was necessary for its maintenance. At the same time, it increased the daily amount of work to be done by each member of the gens, household community or single family. It was now desirable to bring in new labour forces. War provided them prisoners of war were turned into slaves. With its increase of the productivity of labour and therefore of wealth and its extension of the field of production the first great social division of labour was bound in the general historical conditions prevailing to bring slavery in its train. From the first great social division of labour arose the first great cleavage of society into two classes Masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited."

We have already seen that the *Gana*-commune the pristine Brahman with its *Yajna* mode of production had no place for slavery or Sudra. Hence when tribal wars took place the captured prisoners were mostly killed off according to the *Purusha Medha*. But when labour power of man with the new instruments of production and productive forces could produce more than it required to consume and reproduce itself, it was possible to utilize the war prisoners without killing them. They could be put to labour from the surplus of which the owners could maintain themselves. Slavery came in and the *Satra* which could kill the prisoners like the *Sarpa-Satra* of Janamejaya vanished from the historical stage of the *Yajna* mode. The conquered was now given a place in the Arvan social orga

nisation, as the fourth, *Sudra Varna*. He was assigned the task of serving Aryan society, which as a whole, reserved to itself the role of free men and masters of the non-Aryans, captured in war or otherwise. He could be sold, hired or killed. He had no rights of property, no family, he had no deity. Though in the scheme of Creation he was assigned, like the others, an animal, the horse, the supreme animal of war, it only means that primarily the Sudra slave was such to the warring chieftain, the head of the commune, the *Kshatra Varna*, and then, later on, distributed or sold to the *Gana* members, who could put him to labour.*

In its early growth slavery works under the patriarchal form, attached to the household community, in which the slaves work along with the men and women, sons and daughters of the patriarchal household, under the watchful eye of the *Grihyapati*. But with the development of exchange when production for exchange and commerce grow, the slaves are put to harder work, are herded in gangs to work the handicrafts, fields, mines, etc. Slavery loses its patriarchal form and becomes an excruciating tyranny for the slave, and greed of wealth and accumulation for the slave-owner. In the *Rigvedic* times, slavery had not yet assumed that commercial form. But it soon was to. The writers of the *Rigveda* were joyous at this great invention, the great happiness and pleasure that the slave gave to the owner were frankly sung in exhuberance and now form part of the most sacred, "God-given" *Vedic* inheritance of the Hindus. The only claim the slaves had to divine "benevolence" in this new institution was that, whereas formerly the war prisoner was put to death in the fire of the *Purusha Medha*, now he was spared his life, which hence forth he could burn in the slow-fire of exploitation of the *Dwija* Aryans, and provide inspiration to sing the hymn of the *Purushasukta*. From freedom to defeat and Sudra-slavery, from total annihilation to exploitation—was it not a step forward to social evolution at that stage? The slave got

* तस्मात् तौ भूतसकामिणौ अश्वाश्च शूद्राश्च
 तस्मात् शूद्रो यज्ञे अनवल्लसो न हि देवताः अन्वसुज्यन्त ।
 तस्मात् पादौ उपजीवत । तैत्ति सं ७-१-१-४

his life, the Aryan got his wealth, on the basis of which both could march forward to a still better life, by developing the growing productive forces, which now could grow only through slavery. That is not, however, the way the Aryan conqueror argued. The great Brahman had created the Sudra for nothing but slavery the "darya" of the other three *Varnas* of the free Aryans. And Brahman having done that prospered and grew he says. But it was no longer the same old happy Brahman.

Giving birth to slavery, to the tri *Varnas* and the Sudra, to the class cleavage and the consequent class conflicts of the *Dwajar* age was the last act of the great ancient Brahman of the pristine *Yajna Purusha*. Once the discovery of fire and cattle had revived the dying Brahman *Prajapati*, he grew in *Yajna*. Now the birth of agriculture, handicrafts, exchange private property and *Varnas* led to a series of events, the great class war and class State, which killed that Brahman forever. The *Mahabharat* moans in so many words that the Brahman perished—"Brahma nanash ha" Let us see how it happened.

Chapter VIII

· le Falling Commune Moans and Th Battles against Rising Private Property

SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR into *Varnas* was a necessity THE ~~ng~~ out of growing variety of products, production and ~~arisin~~ tions When society has not yet been overtaken by ~~func~~ ate property and by the mad race of production for ~~priv~~ aange, for profit, and for cheapening of commodities, the ~~exch~~ l division merely helps production by raising quality ~~soci~~ the use-value of the product "In consequence of the and ration of the social branches of production, commodities ~~sepa~~ better made, the various bents and talents of men select are ~~pit~~ able field, and without some restraint no important a su ~~lts~~ can be obtained anywhere Hence both product and resu ~~ucer~~ are improved by division of labour"¹ That was prod ~~ound~~ foundation of the stability of the *Varna* system in early the ~~ic~~ society and the later caste system, insofar as caste ~~Ved~~ cided with occupation

But such a social division of labour presupposes a society ~~coin~~ d on backward instruments of production, on agricultural base and handicrafts as we found them in medieval and ture ~~ent~~ India The moment the instruments have underanc ~~g~~ a revolutionary change of the modern instrument, gone

that type of social organisation loses its validity and necessity and collapses.

Division of *Varnas*, however, need not have led to conflict and class war or *Varna* war, had not slavery and private property come into the ancient commune economy and given birth to classes, whose interests were hostile to each others.

This is quite a new phenomenon and staggers the imagination of the commune, the overwhelming majority of whom are, of course, poor. Tribal or *Gana* democracy had allowed the *Varnas* to develop their spheres of activity and the rewards of those activities the *Varna-dharmas* had laid down what each should do should get and how each should behave, so that all may benefit thereby and be happy. In the old *Krita Treta* age the fruits of all *Yajna* activity, in which the *Varnas* had not been found necessary belonged to all and the poverty of production was shared by all equally through the *Havana*. Common activity having become varied, had now been distributed into *Varnas* and so also its products. But, instead of everyone sharing poverty and riches equally only some got all the riches and the others got all the poverty.

Those who had been chosen to direct *Yajna* production, the *Brahmins*, had now become the leaders of social economy and wielded power following from the knowledge of direction and technique. Their fruits which formerly all shared now became their property alone. The *Kshatra* heads, who had been chosen to lead and fight the battles, did the same. The great *Visha* democracy alone shared poverty and hard labour joined in by the *Sudras*. Collective property grumbled against individual property, appropriation and enrichment. Never was it known in the *Yajna* commune that while some got food, others starved. Never was there a hunt in the ancient god-commune for that new abominable thing called gold—money (*Hiranya*). The old *Indra* in his days had fought with stones and bones, had won cows and fields to graze and water. He drank and thundered. But they in those days did not pile their wealth as their own only for themselves. In those days bygone they were a little *Gana* a small settlement of *Ashmaraja* in which

all sat round the common fire and were fed by the commune-mother, sang together and were happy though poor.

Now the poet in the *Rigveda* moaned

"Is hunger the only punishment for man at the hands of God? If God had intended that the poor must die of hunger, then why are not the rich immortal? Accumulation of food in the hands of a (propertied) fool has no use for others. He eats by himself, feeds not his friends and is censured."²

.. The rise of exchange, of market, of private labour and appropriation has now created that new phenomenon where men have to run for money, for job, for a buyer of their goods, of their labour.

The *Vedic* writer again complains:

"We have various tasks, various desires, various minds. The carpenter yearns for the hum of the saw, the physician for the moan of the patient, the Brahmin for a worshipper. The smith, with his wood, fan, anvil and the oven, awaits the rich man. I am a singer, my father is a physician. My mother works at the corn-pestle. Like the herdsman running after cows, we are after money."³

The later *Rigveda Mandalas* speak of the indebted gambler, of the slaves, of jealousy and hatred between men and men

This is the picture when commodity production has penetrated the commune or *Gana*-society and destroyed its collectivism. Formerly when the producer produced for use, he had control over the product. The collective had control over its production and products. They knew what became of their product. They consumed it, it did not leave their hands to play tricks with them.

But with commodity production and exchange, the products change hands. The producer surrenders it in exchange and knows not its fate. In that process comes a new element, money, and a new class, the merchants, a new force, the unknown market. The producer and his product become

² *Rigveda*, X, 117

³ *Rigveda*, IX, 111-1-3.

subject of market, money, demand, chance. The fruits of labour of the producer are not realised by him through the direct use of the product but depend on "fate". New alien powers, unseen, unknown, uncontrolled, seize hold of his life, his labour powers, which, though strong and living may feed him, may not. Thus grows the conflict between the rich and poor between the new classes of exploiters and exploited.

Conflicts which the Yajna commune had never dreamt of before, mature within the womb of *Gana* society and break out in violent form. The two most powerful sections of the economically dominant class enter into violent conflicts for control of the exploited wealth. The Brahmin and the Kshatriya *Varnas* come to clashes in the appropriation of the wealth produced by the vast *Visha* peasant democracy and the Sudras. While fighting among themselves for the sole power of exploitation, both join hands in battling against the great *Visha* mass, which still continues to fight for the age-old existence of the commune its *Dharma*, its morality and ethics, its economy and organisation. Collectivism refuses to surrender to private property without a fight the till-now-undivided Brahman refuses to be over come by the exclusive private interests of the dominant *Varna*-class. A sanguinary struggle takes place which according to the evidence of the *Vedic* and *Epic* traditions lasted for several years.

Private property seems to have lost the first battles in the early days of its growth. The memory of that seems to have been preserved for us in that *Akhyayika* of the *Taitteriya Aranyaka* (V 1) of the *Krishna Yajurveda* known as the war between Vishnu and the Devas. Shorn of the mythical, mystical or barbarian wrappings, it tells us of the struggle of private property against collectivism in the following manner

And then for the first time the questions of the philosophy of Karma and the question of "liberation from Karma" that is, *Moksha* arise in Hindu society. The *Vedic* commune never had such a problem.

३८ अर्द्धरथातोऽयं इति वर्त्तते वा पुनः ।

वीर्यं द्यात् वेनिराद् वर्त्तते पानवा ।

४० एतेषु पानवां इत्याद्यमर्ते चना । महामार्त द्यात् ॥ ४४-४

In the ancient days, the gods began a *Satra*, which, as we have seen, is the collective production under the *Yajna* mode. They agreed, before beginning it, amongst themselves that whatever the products the *Satra* yielded, would belong to all, everybody would have equal share in it (This agreement is implied insofar as it is a *Satra*, but the record-keeper of the later age wants to be more explicit, which is, of course, much to the good of history!) The number of gods who joined in it was so great and the *Yajna*-fire so big that it occupied a big territory. The Kurukshetra formed the *Vedi*. To the south of the *Vedi* was the Khandava country. Touching the west line of the *Vedi* was the Parinat (the well-developed or well-pastured land). To the north was the Tughra area (the land of the *Ganas* of Turushka or Turvasha). The waterless Maru (Marwar) was made to serve as a dunghill of the *Satra*. In the *Satra*, as we know, every participant is a *Ritvija* and everyone the *Grihapati-Yajmana* (or householder). Hence everyone has the same rights of labour and enjoyment. But all participants elect one *Grihapati* from amongst themselves as the directing authority. In the *Satra* of the gods, Vishnu was elected as *Grihapati* and the *Satra* was on. Though it was a common effort, fame went round that "the *Satra* was performed by Vishnu", who now thought of appropriating for himself the good(s) flowing from the *Satra*, that is, the "*Kartrutva*". He became proud and soon an enemy of the gods openly. The gods, therefore, attacked Vishnu in order to wrest from him their share of the proceeds. But Vishnu, being the consecrated head, alone had arms, the bow and the arrow, while the gods were unarmed, as was the law in *Yajna* labour. The unarmed gods, seeing Vishnu armed, ran away. Vishnu became careless due to victory and forgot to take further steps for defence. His armed vigilance lessened and thereby he also lost the former "*Yajna-Tej*", the power to fight and conquer. When the *Yajna-Tej* left Vishnu, the gods seized it and buried it in the Shyamat herbs. Seeing the gods scattered Vishnu put his bow on the ground and rested his chin on the end of the bow. Seeing this the gods called in the help of the white ants and told them to bore through the string of Vishnu's bow. When the string

gave way the bow snapped and Vishnu's head was blown off. The body of the *Yajna Purusha*, i.e., Vishnu then was divided between the three gods, Agni, Indra and Vishwadeo. But it was without a head, hence the fruits of *Yajna* could not be realised. So the gods called in the *Aswans*, the divine physicians who on the promise of a share, set the head on the body which fructified the *Yajna*.

The account of the civil war perhaps the earliest class struggle in Aryan society, is so plain that it hardly needs any explanation. The collective mode of production and appropriation did not surrender to class society and State without a violent civil war. It was ultimately force that decided the issue between the possessors and dispossessed between the appropriators of the labour of others and those who laboured. Equality of communal production and distribution was being dethroned and destroyed inequality, the struggle of rich and poor the division of the commune—the *Yajna Purusha* in the story—into the three *Varnas* for whom stand the three gods, Agni (for Brahman) Indra (for Kshatra) and the Vishwadeo (for Vishva) and the upholding of the new law by the consecration of the armed head, i.e. the State was struggling to come into existence. Society had split into those who produce and those who appropriate the surplus of the producers, into exploiters and exploited and the exploited poor had to give up their old *Satra* rights their collectivism to the rule of the exploiters, or flight. That is the plain story told us by the *Aiteriya Brahmana*'s author. Though in this first round of the civil war Vishnu installed into the headship of the commune by the collective will, failed in his objective to appropriate to himself or his class the proceeds of social labour and the *Satra* law won yet it shows us how the new class power and its armed State was taking shape, as the organ of suppression of force of the dominant class over the exploited toiler. The barbarian author wishes us to believe that it was all divine work and necessity. Yet the author was too near to the epoch of struggle to hide the crying facts of the economic class struggle that had now broken out in *Satra* labour and its commune. It tells us that commune property did not surrender but was suppressed with great violence that it did

not fail because of "human nature," as the bourgeois scholars would have us believe, but was annihilated by armed force at the hands of the new class-*Dharma* of the new *Yuga*.

Civil war within the same *Gana*, war among one's own kins, wars between brother and brother were unknown to the antiquity of the commune. One tribe warred with another. The sons of Aditi had fought the sons of Diti, those of Vinata had fought those of Kadru, and so on. But had anyone heard of the sons of Aditi fighting among themselves and annihilating or enslaving their own kins? Had the Vasu *Ganas* fought the Vasus of their own blood, of their own *Gana-Gotra*, their own *Yajna* commune? Never. That kind of civil war, class war, *Varna* war, had no place in the ancient primitive *Yajna* commune, because private property and exploitation had not arisen in those *Ganas*. Once it did, civil war was added to the existing tribal wars. Tribes fought tribes to capture slaves, cattle and other wealth, and then they fought their *Varna* (class) civil war to amass this wealth for their private enrichment and to enslave their own toiling kins. As the *Vishnu Purana* says, God had created the different *Varnas* with their different qualities of good and evil (*Satva-Raja-Tama*), but at first they were quiescent and all *Varnas* were happy. But as time went on "desire" seized them, they constructed cities and forts, went to war and became unhappy. In the *Mahabharat* Bhishma was asked how the king-State and civil war arose. He also, while saying that at first there was no civil war, no king, no State, attributes the fall of that pristine commune to the rise of new "passions" and desires among the members of the commune. They were overcome by "Moha," attraction or delusion for things, lost their power of discrimination, then greed seized them. With greed they began to think of acquiring what they had not. In the clutches of new desire, anger, passion and hatred arose. They forgot their blood relations, blood duty, did what they should not, lost their *Dharma*, fought among themselves, and thus the *Brahman* was destroyed. This sequence of invasion of vices as the cause of the civil war and the new State, as the cause of the fall of the old, happy, peaceful *Dharma* of the

Krita Treta age, recurs in almost every treatise in the Hindu texts.

But they do not tell us why, when the sons of Diti, Aditi, the angry quarrelsome thundering Indra and others fought their enemies and won cattle and wealth, they were not invaded by this chain of vices, by attraction, desire greed for new things and civil war to possess them against their own kins? The poor barbarian writers could not tell us why They only said that those others were virtuous while these were not. But it is not they who become vicious but it is as if vices grow wings and life and come and seize them. And the poor mortals, once happy though extremely backward and poverty stricken, begin to kill each other enslave their own and others, and accumulate wealth. The real reason as we have seen, lies in the revolution in the productive forces that has taken place in the primitive collectives. New productive forces bring in new production relation Behind the label of these vices enumerated by the Mahabharat the Puranas and others, we see the forces of new productivity exchange of commodities, to sell what you do not use and to get what you have not got or cannot produce" we see private property and accumulation generating greed, selfishness and other passions and using force to appropriate the proceeds of social labour, and still further intensify the mad desire to accumulate wealth for oneself The roaming but united commune breaks and scatters into agriculture handicrafts, towns and cities, and begins a new age with new emotions, vices and virtues, a new world of rulers and ruled, of exploiters and exploited. Not until private property is again abolished but now on the basis of abundance and not on the old primitive basis of poverty will man get rid of these vices, their civil war and finally all war under the new world Communism of the future

The Mahabharat describes the sequence thus

देव्यम्

सोऽ

प्राप्तव भविष्यते

वापि

रागः

प्राप्तव भविष्यतव्य-स्त्रिय अद्वादि विद्युते वृत्ति वद्य सत्त्वा ११८

Before we go on with the development of this class war, we shall see what other vital changes came into the commune, with the growth of the productive forces and the rise of private property and slavery. The new property relations affected the organisation of the commune in every possible way. Private property destroyed the old organisation of kinship and personal relationship. It destroyed the matriarchy of the commune, the commune family which, at the time we last saw it, was based on the pairing family. It destroyed the prohibition of non-kins entering into the fold of the commune. It brought into existence the private household of the patriarch, father-right and inheritance of property, succession, heredity and all its consequences. The unity of the *Gana-Gotra* dissolved into conflicts of the new private families and classes. Along with the alien slaves, women also lost their freedom, and soon the proud, free Aryan Visha also was bound and sold on the market.

Chapter IX

The Slavery of Woman and Fall of Matriarchy

"WITH THE HERDS and the other new riches, a revolution came over the family. To procure the necessities of life had always been the business of the man, he produced and owned the means of doing so (Means such as hunting weapons, etc.) The herds were the new means of producing these necessities, the taming of animals in the first instance and later their tending were man's work. To him therefore belonged the cattle and to him the commodities and slaves received in exchange for cattle. All the surplus which the acquisition of the necessities of life now yielded fell to the man, the woman shared in the enjoyments, but had no part in its ownership. The savage warrior and hunter had been content to take second place in the house after the woman, the gentler shepherd in the arrogance of his wealth, pushed himself forward in the first place and the woman down into the second. And she could not complain. The division of labour within the family had regulated the division of property between man and woman, that division had remained the same and yet it now turned the previous domestic relations upside down simply because the division of labour outside the

family had changed. The same cause which had ensured to the woman her supremacy in the house¹—that her activity was confined to domestic labour—this same cause now ensured the man's supremacy in the house. The domestic labour of the woman now no longer counted beside the acquisition of necessities of life by man, the latter was everything, the former an unimportant extra.

"The man now being actually supreme in the house, the last barrier to his absolute supremacy had fallen. This autocracy was confirmed and perpetuated by the overthrow of mother-right and the introduction of father-right, and the gradual transition of the pairing marriage into monogamy. But this tore a breach in the gentile constitution, the single family became a power and its rise was a menace to the gens" (Engels *Origin of Family*)

The overthrow of mother-right and the rise of patriarchy is not explicitly described for us in the *Vedic* literature, as far as I could see. But the transition can be easily seen in the development of the family. In the first place, with the growth of the *Varnas*, exchange and private property, we find that the male *Prajapatis* and *Grishapatis* come into the forefront of history, with their civil wars and tribal wars. The *Gana* wars of the sons of Aditi, Diti, etc., vanish into history. Secondly, the *Gotra-apatyas* are succeeded by sons of fathers, the sons known by mothers become scarce, though they survive in history for a long time, even till recently in South India. Thirdly, since private property and patriarchy grow with the growth of the *Ganas*, their scattering over wide areas in large numbers, the common bond of common matriarchal ancestry soon loses its validity in social existence and is replaced by the patriarchal *Pra-varas*. With the end of collectivism and group-*Gotra* marriage, the private single family on the basis of monogamy claims its own property, children and inheritance. Kinship is scattered and forgotten. Side by side with kins, come

¹ The commune house in the Satra labour with the supremacy of Aditi, the woman, the primeval mother

non kins in the *Gana-Gotra*, consisting of the new slaves, new people trading in goods, and so on. With the growth of war *Ganas* coalesce, confederate and form tribes on the basis of allegiance to the memory of the past the memories of common ancestry and common kinship. This grouping of the scattered Aryan kin-*Gana-Gotras* takes the form of the formation of *Pravaras*. The *Pravaras* inherit their descent from a supposed common father and not the common mother as the *Gana-Gotras* did before. The *Pravara* organisation is headed by nine MALE *Prajapatis* and distinctly arises long after the spread of the *Gotras*. The common patriarchy shown in them is an artificial arrangement to coalesce the kin tribes together but without the matriarchal origin. Hence, unlike *Gotras* *Pravara* similarity does not involve a very strict interdiction of marriage between the same *Pravaras*. No doubt the patriarchal *Pravaras* seem to have thought in this of imitating the *Gotra* interdiction but the latter was genuine since it was based on real matriarchal blood relationship following from real group-marriage while the former was a mere fiction, merely bowing before the memory of the real past and only inheriting its robes to pass muster in the newly arisen society. The *Pravaras* were thus a mode of asserting common ancestry and an attempt to hold on ideologically still to the ashes of the dead commune in the new setting of monogamy patriarchy and private property.

The *Gotra* *Pravara* organisation systematised kinship demarcated kin tribes from non kin the Aryan from the non Aryan when alien elements began to come in contact with and enter Aryan society. It was also the new organisational form for the management of social religious affairs on the gen basis in face of the new organisation of *Varna* classes and State of a new society where now all members were not kin relations, where as the Arvan writer puts it all have not the rights of *Yajana* and *Yajana*.* A new society was in the making whose composition was recognised and limited by only territorial residence by domicile within the boundaries of a new organisation called the *Rajyam Rashtra*.

tram, the State, and not by blood relationship as in the old *Gana* Economic and *kin* relationships now were divorced. The Sudras and strangers had no place in the *Gotra-Pravara*, but had one in the kingdom, the *Rajyam*.

The *Pravara* system of the Hindu Aryans has been a headache to the Indian scholars, just as it was to the Europeans, when they found it among the Greeks. The *Gotra-Pravara* persists till today and proclaims common ancestry. But our scholars deny common ancestry following from the *Gotra*-group marriage and the *Gana* commune. Hence they have to ascribe the *Gotra-Pravara* the place of meaningless fiction.

In order to reply to the critics of the *Gotra-Pravara*, it is best to quote Marx's summary of Morgan's reply to his critics

"The system of consanguinity corresponding to the original form of the gens—and the Greeks like other mortals once possessed such a gens (*Gotra* of the Hindu Aryans)²—preserved the knowledge of the mutual relation between all members of the gens. It was of decisive importance to them and they learned it by practice from childhood upwards (As the Hindu did it in his everyday *Sandhya* prayer) With the monogamous family, this knowledge was forgotten. The gentile name (*Gotra* or *Pravara* name, told to the Hindu boy, after his thread ceremony)³ created an ancestral tree beside which that of the individual family appeared insignificant. It was now the function of this name to preserve the fact of the common descent of those who bore it, but lineage of the gens went so far back that its members could not prove the actual relationship existing between them, except in a limited number of cases, through more recent common ancestors. The name itself was proof of common descent. Because the ties of kinship, especially with the rise of monogamy, are pushed back into remote times and the reality of the past ap-

² Brackets mine—S A.D.

³ Significantly called "Yajnopaveetam".

pears reflected in mythological fantasies, our good philistines concluded and conclude that the imaginary pedigree created the gentes." (Engels *Origin of Family*)

Father-right, private property and inheritance insist on monogamy for the woman without which the father's offspring cannot be identified. Monogamy and with it woman's chastity and loyalty to man came in to facilitate the inheritance of property (as we already saw) but it was ushered in first, not at the behest of man but of the woman. The men were not then and today also are not willing to give up the habits and claims of the group-marriage still expressed in polygamy—Devadasis, Muralis and, finally, prostitution and adultery. With the growth of society and scattering of the formerly small kin-Gotras far and wide with the growth of the new economy whose unit was now becoming the single family the old *Gana* rights of all Gotra members to the woman of the opposite marriageable Gotra wherever she was, was becoming a nauseating burden to the woman. In the small Gotra family in the small *Ashma vrāja* everyone knew everybody else they were attached to each other by common labour, though like the unconscious bees in a honeycomb. But now for a *Gana* member unknown unrelated, coming from far away lands to claim the right over the woman was an infliction on her. In the early days, it was from this group-marriage that arose the custom of the host giving his wife to the guest, the 'Atithi'. To obtain her freedom from this right of the stranger of a bygone collective she insisted on monogamy which also coincided with the needs of the new property relations. Thus, while one-sided monogamy on the basis of the private property of the male patriarch meant enslavement for the

⁴ How our "good philistines" argue is best seen in *Hindu Erosion* by Karandikar and discussion of the *Pravara* by Krikar in *Vedavidya*, volume of the Maharashtra Jnānakosh. Only Hajwade approaches within recognisable distance of Morgan.

The memoranda sent by rich Hindu Orthodoxy on the question of marriage Gotra-Pravara and property inheritance to the Commission of Hindu Law Committee in recent times, make interesting reading and show how the question is still very much alive.

woman, it also meant her release from the claims of the strangers of the dying alienated *Gana-Gotras*

But the monogamy of class-ridden society, with the private property of the rich ruling and ruining the lives of millions of women and men, becomes a mockery for the woman. Since the end of the commune and rise of slavery and class rule, society is haunted with prostitution and adultery. With the economic defeat of woman was ushered in her physical and moral slavery to man and private property.

“The overthrow of mother-right was the world-historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also, the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children” (Engels)

The callousness with which the “Holy-Law-givers” of private property put the necessity of having a son to inherit property of the father above that of monogamic loyalty, feelings, chastity and claims of the woman to be treated as a “personality” of her own, is henceforth seen in the discussion regarding the “ownership” of the child, produced on the woman by a man who is not her husband. In the *Anushasana Parva* of the *Mahabharat*, Yudhishthira asks very seriously

“Some say that one’s son is he who is born on his soil. Some, on the other hand, say that one’s son is he who has been begotten from his seed. Are both these kinds of sons equal? Whose again is the son to be?”

Clearly, it can be seen that this is the slave-owning farmer talking about his wife as a piece of land and the son as its fruit. To whose ownership does the crop belong—to the one who rents, gives seed and cultivates, or to the one who owns the land, whosoever may be the cultivator? Such ideology and conception of the woman was never possible in the *Yajna* commune, though they hankered more after *Praja*-progeny than these latter-day landlord slave-owners. The *Veda* writer frankly called the woman of the commune by the epithet “*Jani*”, “one who produces children”, but all that was born was hers, was the “*Jana*”. It never

occurred to him to ask whose son it was—of the "soil" or of "the seed"—because he had no property to claim as his own to inherit to the exclusion of another. Patriarchal rule had not yet been born. Conversion of woman to the status of a chattel, a mere means to get children, is the ideology of the period of slavery, when man began to be bought and sold to produce wealth for the owner and so was woman to produce a son to inherit it.

The reply to the question of Yudhishthira says, "His is the son from whose seed he has sprung." The right of patriarchy is declared as the only valid right. Further

"If however the owner of the seed discards the son born of it, such a son then becomes his from whose wife he has been begotten. The same rule applies to the son called Adhyudha. He belongs to the person from whose seed he has sprung. If however the owner of the seed forsakes him, he becomes the son of the husband of his mother. Know this is what the law (*Dharma*) declares."

Manu, by whom Hindu orthodoxy swears, says the same thing *

In the age of collectivism and the pairing family the children belonged to the gen mother when the father left the mother the child remained with her as we saw in the well known cases of Arjun Bhima etc. But in the age of slavery woman is being bought and sold rented out or loaned by the owning husband, like cattle to get "pure sons to inherit property and slave sons on the slave women to work and produce property

This treatment of the woman was not limited to the wife alone but was applicable to the daughters and others also. A continued renting-out of the daughter is typically

* ममु तु द्वितीया १ अतिरिक्तम् तु वर्णते ।
भवत्युपास्ति देवा द्वितीया द्वितीया ११२
मातृपु वृद्धिकर्त्ता विवाहम् विवाहम् ११३-१४

And Parasara Smriti adds

वृद्धिकर्त्ता विवाहम् देवा विवाहम्
मातृपु वृद्धिकर्त्ता विवाहम् विवाहम् १४-१५

Even the much-maligned materialists were never so crude!

depicted in that long story of *Rishī Galava*, in the *Udyoga Parva* of the *Mahabharat*. Galava wants to pay the costs of his training to his *Guru* and, being poor, seeks Yayati's aid, who lends him Madhavi, his daughter. Galava hires out the girl for the price of two hundred horses to three kings in succession, each one of whom enjoys her, gets a son on her and returns her to the father. Galava gives her and the horses and the wealth thus obtained to his *Guru* in settlement of the dues. *Guru Vishwamitra* also, having got a son on her, returns her to Galava, who sends her back to Yayati. The ordeal of this poor woman is not yet ended. On return from all this slavery, she is then asked by Yayati to choose her husband now in her own choice in a *Swayamvara*, wherein kings and rich men, young and all, assemble. But by this time, Madhavi has developed such contempt for life and slavery to man, that she bows to all, walks away on them and takes to the forest to fast and pray and to be free from the slavery of class society⁶.

The rights of the patriarch, the slave-owning husband, were not limited only to renting out his wife, daughter, son and others. He had absolute right over their lives and could put them to death at his will. The above-mentioned treatment of the woman is poles apart from the freedom of the *Gotra*-marriage days of the commune. Then woman was respected, the mother as life-giver was sacred and it was the highest sin to kill the mother. The ideology of that period was carried into the slave period and conflicted with the demands of the new slave-owning class, that demanded absolute ownership over its "property", which included, along with slaves, the wife, son, etc.

The woman struggled to assert herself, and the old customs of the commune, here and there, demanded their continuance, but were suppressed with the greatest ferocity and violence at the hands of the slave-owner man. This is very vividly described for us in the three episodes of Sudarshan-Oghavati, Gautama-Gautami and Jamadagni-Renuka. They also show us how the customs and ideology of the *Gotra*-commune period underwent change into the slave period. When

Rishi Sudarshan went away from the Ashram leaving behind his wife Oghavati, a Brahmin guest came. He was not only fed but according to the *Gana-Gotra* custom, when the guest desired, Oghavati slept with him. When Sudarshan returned and learnt of this, he was very pleased that his wife had carried out the duties of a host. This incident, of course belongs to the period when the *Ganas* have spread afar, the commune is breaking down and hence the old group-marriage right is being resented by the woman who is now forming an independent household and living in the pairing form of the family with her husband. That is why Sudarshan was afraid that his wife may not observe all the duties of the host and so is pleased to find out that his "fears" were unfounded and that Oghavati had not "revolted."

In the next episode times have changed. Gautama's wife in his absence, is visited by Indra as a guest, who takes her. On learning this Gautama is angry and asks his son Chirakari, to behead her and goes away. The son is in a dilemma. According to the old custom and moral code he knows, his mother was not wrong and that he as her son could not kill her. It would be the greatest sin. But according to the new period the new class relations, family and class law, he must obey the father's order. * He waits and ponders. Gau-

* यितु य परोक्षम् स्विष्टम् तु अम्

अस्यात्मे न पुनर्देहे कि न या न सुगा पर ॥ २०

અસ્થિર હોય એ માં રોગીની તુલના માટે

पितृर चाष्वदाव के प्रतिश्लाप भ. ४ । ३

In this the contraposed points are very interesting.

Obedience to the father is an alien imposed law (Parasharmas) protection of the mother is natural self law (Swadharma). But the son in the slave period has lost freedom, hence he no longer has the right to follow the natural Gama law and thus defy the father and stand by the mother. Killing the mother would violate all his old natural emotions and hence make him unhappy. But defying the father how can he keep place of pride (Pratistha) in society? The mother is the past, dying the father is the future rising and ruling.

Which has more disastrous consequences in the new order? Not aiding the mother is contraposed in value to the mere defiance of the word of the father. Here you have the violent dictatorship of the slave-owner in all its nakedness.

Remember the old days? When Deeng-talmas became cheeky and a nuisance his sons just bundled him off the commune at the order of the mother. And so was Swetaketa abjected for his impudence when he grew

tama returns, his anger cooled, and accepts the accomplished fact and is pacified Here the woman and son win, not because of their right, but because the new law is not yet all powerful

In the third episode, Jamadagni finds that his wife, Renuka, just cast a loving glance at Chitraratha Gandharva. He asked his son, Parashuram, to kill her, and he did it there and then Here the patriarch's right over the wife's life is completely established She has no personality, no liberty, no mind of her own Cruel, ferocious, violent dictatorship of the slave-owner has completely beheaded her personality and freedom.

These three episodes sum up for us the conclusion of the rise of private property and family, the rule of man, and the subjugation of woman into slavery. It is not culture and love, morality and ethics, idealist philosophy and the peculiarly "high spirituality" of the Indian that gives us the present-day crushed Hindu woman, without right, status, personality or freedom. It is the violent dictatorship of the slave-owning class that has brought her to this

What is the basic force behind this development? Violence alone cannot accomplish it. Violence of the man, law and order behind him, administered now by the newly arising State, get their strength from the new productive forces, the new property relation, the new social relations The fall of the commune, the rise of private property, Varnas and classes, bring into existence this new family, in which woman's domestic labour has no social value, in which social labour done by the slaves on the fields and in the workshops predominates and is now appropriated by man alone as his private property

Woman lost freedom along with the Sudra slave, with the rise of private property Centuries after, the fall of property in slaves was only succeeded by another private property, that of the feudal landlord, and its fall in turn by capitalist property The condition of woman's slavery, there-

tested against his mother going off with her Gotra-friend With the death of the commune, free, happy motherhood died The husband became her slave-driver and sons became his executioners Divine law and order stood by man and disarmed woman for centuries to come

fore only underwent similar changes. From a slave she became a serf and from a serf a proletarian. But her subjugation as such was never abolished.

The question of her emancipation, therefore, is not one of morality ethics and spirituality but one of class rule.

From the foregoing we can see that to emancipate woman and make her the equal of man is and remains an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labour and restricted to private domestic labour. The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large social scale and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large-scale industry which does not merely permit of the employment of female labour over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards ending private domestic labour by transforming its most drudging tasks into public industry. This can be fully accomplished only when large-scale industry becomes socialised and classes are abolished.

That should also explain why the leadership of the bourgeoisie in India sings the praises of domestic labour, while its captains of industry drive cheap women's labour into factories. The two between them besog the woman and society from seeing the real road to emancipation that it is not in domestic labour nor merely in becoming "educated earning woman" of the middle classes that her freedom lies. It is the social revolution abolishing private property in the means of production and class rule and along with it the supremacy of the male that will bring about the emancipation of woman. But that is not the matter of discussion here.

Chapter X

The Struggle of Irreconcilable Contradictions

THE OLD ARYAN COMMUNE was fast falling to pieces. It was rent with irreconcilable contradictions, which could no longer be resolved within the old *Dharma* of the *Yajna* mode of production, because that mode itself had broken down. With the development of the instruments of production, new production relations had come into existence and were battling for supremacy as against the ancient *Yajna-Gana-Gotra* relations. Private property, based on slavery, was overthrowing collective property, based on freedom and equality. A violent civil war rent the Aryan *Ganas*. Let us sum up these contradictions, which we have seen developing in previous chapters, before we look into the civil war and its outcome—the death of the *Gana* constitution and the rise of the State.

The small communes of collective *Yajna* labour had enlarged, segmented and multiplied. What was one had become many, what was small had become expanded, “as the divine *Prajapati* desired,” through fire and cattle.

The organisation of the relations of one to the many created problems. The savage wandering *Gana* of the *Krita* age developed into the widely spread kin *Gana-Gotra* of the *Treta* age. Produce and multiply, work together and con-

sum together in the great *Yajna* round the common fire, observing the immanent laws of the *Yajna* and the *Gana-Gotra* communes—this was the simple self-evolved *Dharma* for the growing *Ganas* which solved the problem of early barbarism.

Work and wealth grew. The growth demanded division of labour. Handicrafts, metals, agriculture arose and brought forth again new problems. The *Gana* communes became now internally divided into *Varnas* with their new economic roles, but still within the bounds of the collective. Within the womb of the old undivided *Gana* economy arose the diversified divided *Varna* economy. *Gana* rights begin to clash with *Varna* rights.

Growing riches and variety of riches, tribes and *Ganas* of one territory with their characteristic natural products coming into contact with others with their products, brought forth exchange of products. Production for exchange undermines production for use. Production for *Havana* is pushed back by production for *Hiranya*.

Exchange broke down collective production, and with it collective appropriation. Private production and private appropriation means private property has come in. New divisions hitherto unknown new antagonisms within the kins of the same *Gana* arose—the antagonism of the rich and poor. The *Gana* fretted and fumed, finding no way out, it tried to solve an economic problem by moral preaching. It demanded "strict observance" of the economic laws of *Havana* and *Dana* which was the age-old mechanism of the distribution of products for use and consumption. It failed. Who was to enforce it? The *Brahma Kshatra* defied the injunction and claimed all the *Danam* and *Havana* for itself. Property concentrated more or less on the lines of the *Varna* divisions. Though each *Varna* had its poor and the rich yet the *Brahma Kshatra* generally became the owners of slaves and cattle the propertied classes exploiting the toiling *Vishas* and *Sudras*. Thus *Varna* divisions soon became class divisions and antagonisms. The property differences within one and the same gens had transformed its unity of interest.

into antagonism between its members" (Marx). The Brahma-Kshatra property began to come in conflict with the claims of the great Visha democracy

Exchange created money, money facilitated accumulation, and those who accumulated were those who by the Varna rights and tradition had power and arms, the technique and the knowledge of conduct of war and direction of economy. Conflicts grew between the poor and the rich, between the exploited and exploiters. Gana property fought Varna property. The question arose: was wealth for the *Yajna* or one's own *Sanchaya* and *Bhoga*?

Growing riches and productivity had transformed the prisoners of war from the victims of death into workers of slavery. Sudra slavery entered the Aryan commune. Society was rent into two opposites—those who owned the slaves and wealth, and those who slaved for the owners.

Into the *Gana* of kins, or blood relations, had entered others who were not of the same blood, were non-kins, such as the new Sudra producers, the merchant-traders from other *Ganas*, alien visitors, etc. The *Gana* laws had no provision for these strange economic forces and classes breaking into the ancient closed commune and its territory. A new law to regulate these new relations in economy, marriage, etc., had to arise by the side of *Gana* law and in opposition to it—opposition because the former was based on exchange and private property, the latter on collectivity.² A conflict arose. By the side of *Gana-Gotra* arose the *Gana-Rashtra*; the *Gotra* recognised only kins, the *Rashtra* recognised all who embraced a certain territory and its economy, kin and non-kin together.

²The Upanishada began to preach. "Please enjoy by giving up; do not covet anybody's wealth."

तेन त्यक्तेन भुजीया मा गृह कस्यस्त्वद्नम् । ईशोपनिषद् ।

³It is here that new Dharmas arise and the new rule, which had no place in the homogenous *Gana-Gotra* organisation

जानिजानपदान् धर्मान् श्रणीधर्माश्वधर्मवित् ।

समीक्ष्य कूलधर्माश्व स्वेधर्मे प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ मनु ८-४१

It is here that the provision had to be made that in case of conflict between the Shrutis and other works, the words of the Shruti had preference over the others. But actually the others, being representative of the new conditions, carried the day, by twisting the Shruti to their own end.

Private property had destroyed the commune family and commune house. Within it and against it grew the single family with its property inheritance and so on. The *Gana* came in conflict with the *Kula* the *Prajapati* with *Grihapati*. The *Tretagni* fire of the commune paled into insignificance before the *Grihyagni* fire of the private family. The Common *Havana* was displaced by the Private cooking which, to pacify and cheat the gods and *Gana* took the name of *Pak Yajna*. The big *Yajnas* were replaced by the petty individual *Ishitis* for the selfish desires of the private householder the rich *Grihapati*. They became the *Kamyas* *Ishitis*. The grand common sharing of food by all the *Gana* members around the fire in the common house was suppressed by private grab accompanied by symbolic offering of a share to the gods in the form of *Bali* and a share to the guest (*Atithi*) and the beggar who was the only representative left of the dying *Gana* with whom the selfish householder agreed to share his food to get the "merit of hospitality"

With the growth of the private family house and property came the dominance of the patriarch and the inheritance of the son. Patriarchy suppressed matriarchy the rule of the man over the woman became supreme. Wives conflicted with husbands and sons with mothers.

Private-property rights and life as against the collective-property rights and life created the *Grihya Sutras* against the *Veda Suktas* signifying by their very name their birth from private property. The *Vedas* began to disappear and had to be reduced into a code because they were now a ritual, had ceased

"The transformation of the collective economy of the commune into private economy is reflected in the transformation of the ancient big collective *Tajna Yajna* into the pigny *Ishitis* of the single family. The poor householder *Vishva* made the *Ishiti* into a caricature of the old *Tajna* and since his poverty did not permit him to kill cattle for his small *Tajna*, which the great collective formerly could, from common property the new *Ishiti* ritual provided corn and flour symbols for real cattle to be cut and put in the *Havana* fire! The living cattle had been expropriated by the rich. The poor satisfied himself and the gods with the flour-imitation (as in the *Purashask* of the *Darsikaparamita*, *Anantarati* of *Agastya* and *Mukhupurita*). Cow killing stopped now not because the cow became sacred, but because now it was sacred a monopoly of the rich and too valuable to the *Vishva* peasant to be killed for eating."

to grow and develop and were being forgotten^{*} The Sutras became the authority and conflicted with the Vedas The *Grihya* became the real, the *Veda* became the unreal (*Smriti* or memory), just as private property was becoming real and dominant, and the collective was becoming unreal and was vanishing but had not yet become completely extinct The law-givers, therefore, wrote that their new Sutras and the *Smritis* were the only law, but in case some saw conflict or contradiction between the new *Dharma* and the ancient *Shruti*, then the *Shruti* was the more valid of the two But that was only theory In practice, the new forces ruled and their law was valid

Functions which in the old *Gana* were elective were now becoming hereditary and soon became private interests entrenched against the commune. The sons of slaves became slaves, property inherited property, poverty inherited poverty. The conflict grew and became acute, with the economically powerful classes rearing themselves as the regulators of the whole society in such a way as to perpetuate the growing contradictions and finally subjugate the great toiling majority to the interests and power of the appropriating, owning minority, i.e., the *Vaisya-Sudra* to the *Brahma-Kshatra*

The new productive forces had made land as one of the greatest means of production alongside of cattle and handicrafts In the old *Gana* days people fought and prayed for cattle and progeny (*Praja-Pashavah*) Agriculture was secondary and hence also land But with the growth of population which could not live on cattle alone, the demand for agriculture increased Hence felling of forests to clear land for cultivation became a necessity[†] That was not

* ब्रेतायां सहता वेदा यशाचर्णस्तथैव च ।
सरोधादायुषस्त्वेते व्यस्यन्ते द्वापरे युगे ॥ शान्ति २३८-१०४
द्वापरे विष्वव यान्ति यज्ञा कलियुगे तथा ॥ २३८-१०१

The codification of the *Vedas* (*Samhita*) is here held to have taken place along with the rise of the division of labour, *Varnas*, and its consequences. And codification of the *Vedas* means that the *Yajna* as a mode of social existence is vanishing

[†] Not planting of trees and aforestation but deforestation becomes a virtue and hence the burning of *Khandava* forest is considered a great service in the *Mahabharat*.

from their roots in the people, in gens, phratry, tribe, and the whole gentile constitution changes into its opposite. From an organisation of tribes for the free ordering of their own affairs, it becomes an organisation for the plundering and oppression of their neighbours, and correspondingly its organs change from the instruments of the will of the people into independent organs for the domination and oppression of the people." (Engels.)

The Brahma Kshatra begin to oppress the people and while oppressing the exploited, go to war among themselves over the share of the spoils and the control of power to exploit. Formerly society was afraid of mixture of blood, i.e. of kin promiscuity now a new fear haunts "society," i.e., the ruling class that of Varnasankar the mixture of classes, the fear of the toiling Sudra slave and impoverished Vaisya overturning society and restoring the old *Gana* equality and collectivism destroying private property the rule of the patriarchs and kings. Then it would be the end of the world, the *Pralaya*, indeed! The ruling classes trembled. Wars flared up between the exploiters and exploited the former trying to suppress and disarm once and for all the old *Gana* society of collectivism and equality now surviving only through customs tradition and religious rites, and the latter trying to prevent private property riches, and kingly power of arms from raising itself over the head of the toiling majority.

Chapter XI

Gana-Samghas as Recorded by Panini, Kautilya, the Greeks and Others

WHERE AND WHEN did the Aryan *Ganas* undergo the development we have noted so far? Is there any recorded history to show that *Ganas* of the type we have mentioned did really exist and later on succumbed to invasions or civil war, giving rise to the later empires of Indian history? Let us take these questions before proceeding further with the development of the class struggles in the *Ganas*.

Chronological data on the early development of the *Ganas* is extremely uncertain. From the discovery of fire and cattle, i.e., from the savagery of the Aryans to the growth of *Yajna* communes and their invention of smelting, weaving, exchange, division of labour in *Varnas*, rise of private property and Sudra slavery, a period of several hundred years seems to have elapsed. This may be inferred from the astronomical observations noted by the *Vedic Rishis* and the import of these observations as discussed by modern scholars—such as Tilak, Dixit, Ketkar, etc. It may be stated with some certainty that the Aryan *Ganas* developed *Varnas*, private property and Sudra slavery in their finished and stable form long after reaching India. Chronologically, it had taken place before the Mahabharat war, at the end of which,

tradition says, the Kaliyuga began, and internal evidence of social organisation also bears out the statement.

When that branch of the Aryan communes which went towards the East broke from the growing primeval commune in Central Asia, it had not developed agriculture division of labour or a military leadership. The first to do so were the Asuras, who were the sister communes of the Devas. Tradition says that when the Asuras developed the cultivated plant, the Devas protested. But when they saw it actually bear corn they were frightened and ran away. The Deva Asura wars also tell us that the Devas were always behind the Asuras in technique and it is from them that they learned to develop a stable, skilled military leadership after which alone they succeeded in defeating the Asuras. Thus it seems that when they separated from the primeval home they were still matriarchal *Gana* communes living in the *Yajna* mode of production.

It is in the territories of Afghanistan and especially of the Indus Valley and the South Himalayan regions of the Punjab that the Aryan *Ganas* developed *Varnas* property classes and slavery. The early Vedic activities refer to this region.

The invasions of the Aryan *Ganas* to the East did not take place all at once in a single wave but were spread over several hundred years. Therefore those who came later sometimes had to fight with those who had come and settled earlier. That explains why in the *Rigveda* where Indra is generally held to be the leader of all Aryans, he is asked to help one Aryan *Gana* as against another. The writer of the hymn mentions both Aryans and Dasyus as his enemies in the verses and asks Indra a help.

The occupation of the Indus Valley, the conquest of the original inhabitants, the development of *Varnas* and slavery seem to have been proceeding from about 3000 B.C. to 2000 B.C.

It is at the latter period that the various *Ganas* developed into military democracies or closed aristocracies, broke up their classless constitutions, and developed new forms of organisation to suit the development of property and slavery i.e., ushered in the State and class rule.

It is on the basis of the wealth of cattle, agriculture, handicrafts and the gains of the Visha and slave labour that they grew in wealth and power and spread further eastwards into the Gangetic Valley. It is at this stage that the *Ganas* break into civil wars, the *Varna* wars of Parasuram, Haihaya, etc.

It is after reaching the Gangetic Valley that the classical Hindu slave State becomes ripe for birth. It is then that the Mahabharat war takes place. This has occupied the period of 2,000 B.C. to 1,500 B.C. which is the latest date given for the Mahabharat war. Some give about 3,000 B.C. as the date of the Mahabharat war, which, however, is not generally accepted.

The Mahabharat war causes such mutual destruction that it is followed for some time by the absence of any strong State anywhere. The growth of the slave States is arrested and the *Gana-Samghas* again get an opportunity to live. But it is only for a short while. Centralised semi-slave, semi-feudal States grow in the Gangetic Valley and swallow the *Gana-Samghas*. Some survive in the shelter of the Himalayas, the Vindhya and the Indus Valley, away from the clutching hand of Pataliputra and Hastinapur. Some of them survive as late as the arrival of the Greeks under Alexander, whose chroniclers leave for us the evidence of the fact that the *Gana-Samghas* we have been speaking of lived the way we described.

Apart from the evidence of the Greeks, we have the observations of writers of Indian antiquity also. Putting these together we can name some of the *Ganas* of antiquity and locate them. Some of them can even lead us to see those conditions which existed amongst them before the Mahabharat war, that is, before the final victory of the slave State.

In the very nature of things, one would not expect to find a *Gana* living in the primitive commune stage in later antiquity. But we do find mention of such a *Gana* actually living and living in a very happy way even in later antiquity. These *Ganas* were characterised as living in *Arajaka* conditions, which is vulgarly translated as anarchy. The writers of the slavery period and protagonists of the monar-

they reserved the worst descriptions for such *Ganas*. But that abuse itself shows us the real characteristics of these *Ganas*. As noted before, the *Vairajya Ganas* are described by Kautilya's *Arthashastra* as societies where they do not observe "mine" and "thine". The *Arajaka* is even worse. The *Mahabharat* assures us that when formerly all people lived in the *Arajaka* they perished by killing each other. Then they went to the Grandfather God who advised them to have a king to rule. But it seems, some *Ganas* asked the Grandfather to keep the advice to himself and his monarchy for the slaves and continued to live in *Arajaka*. The *Acharanga Jain Sutras* mention the existence of *Ganas* of the following kinds *Arayani*, *Ganarayani*, *Juvayani*, *Do-rajani*, *Ve-rajani* and *Viruddha-rajani*. Of these six types of *Ganas* we shall first notice the *Arayani*, i.e. the *Arajak*, or anarcho-society. The characteristic of these *Ganas* was that they had no private property, no classes, no slavery and exploitation. Hence the hatred of Kautilya and the *Mahabharat* for them. They still worked together and dined together in the old way. That form of society is described for us by the *Atharvaveda* in which all the *Gana* members are told

Do Ye come here cooperating, going along the same wagon pole speaking agreeably to one another! Identical shall be your drink, in common shall be your share of food. I yoke you together in the same traces."* (Bloomfield's translation)

Such a society was actually found by the Jaina traveller as noted above in the South of India and by the Greek historian of Alexander who says that they were a prosperous people. The citizens took their meals in common as described by the *Atharvaveda*. "They regard the excess-

* वायराजन्यितिसो वायि वै ह न वद्यते व्य विवाहः ।
वायावायावै वै व्य वद्यते वै वायावै विवाहः वायावै ।
वायावै वै वायावै वै वायावै विवाहः वै । विवाहः वै । विवाहः वै ।

* Common meals of a whole *Gana* are not just social gestures but are the necessary part of the primitive commune life where private property and slavery has not arisen.

sive pursuit of any art, as war, for instance, and the like, as wickedness" (Strabo, XV, 34, quoted by Jayaswal) These people are named *Musicani* by the Greeks and they have been identified as *Muchikarnika*

That the *Arajaka Ganas* should be few in number to have survived in history is quite natural in view of the terrific destructive power of the slave States and private property that was swallowing the primitive communes in India

The next type in importance are those *Ganas* who had the *Vairajya* constitution. This was again a *Gana* which had not developed the State and monarchy. But it had developed the *Varna* division of labour, property differences and even patriarchal slavery. The *Aiteriya Brahmana* and the *Yajurveda* mention the existence of people living under the *Vairajya* constitution of society.

They were the *Uttarkurus* and *Uttarmadras* of the North as well as some others in the South. The habitat of these *Kurus* and *Madras* was the *Himavant*—the Himalayan regions.

What was the characteristic of these *Kurus* and *Madras*? There, "the whole *Janapada*² was crowned as ruler"—i.e., it was a democracy. But whose democracy? Was it the old natural *Gana* democracy? No. This democracy of the *Kurus* and *Madras* is called *Vairajya*, not simply because the *Janapada* is crowned, but because, according to the writer of the *Purushasukta*, quite a new special kind of society had been under construction under the *Vairajya* constitution. What is the new speciality? So long they had only three *Varna* divisions—now they find the fourth, the *Sudra Varna*. Having found him, the *Uttarkurus* expand and prosper and begin to occupy the whole earth. They become *Virat*. They are taking the first step towards the State, the State of the *Trivarna* rich over the *Sudra* slave. That is the new form the *Purush* (i.e., the *Gana* multitude) is assuming in the *Purushasukta*. The *Vedic* writer is in ecstasy that in this new form, prosperity and growth came

² "Janapada" is ordinarily translated as "people" which is not quite correct. In the early period it meant the original tribal *Gana* members as distinguished from the new *Sudra* slaves and other aliens

by leaps and bounds. The Purushasukta is the song of the Arya slave-owner who has just found slavery and prospered though he was a patriarch still, working himself and his family alongside the Sudra. Thus the Vairavya Gana democracy is already a closed aristocracy where the assembly of the people rules but the people, i.e., Janapada, does not include the Sudras and hence are a closed aristocracy in relation to them, and later even the poor Vaisya Arya is thrown out of the folds of the privileged Divija aristocracy.

The next stage from *Vairajya* or alongside of it is the *Swarajya* organisation described by the *Aiteriya Brahmana* and prevailing in Western India. It is that *Gana* constitution in which the *Gana* has become now too big to function as a whole and, therefore, elects a council of elders to carry on the collective work in their *Sabha*. These houses of elders inside the framework of a *Gana* or confederacy of *Ganas*, become during course of time the hereditary and permanent nobility. That is why we find the *Gana* defined later on as a union of *Kulas* or families.* What is the content of *Swarajya*? It does not mean self rule at all though the literal meaning is so. It means the leadership that is elected and consecrated to manage the affairs of the *Gana* and has the right to function on its own. It becomes "elder". The elected *Swarat* who formerly was on a level of equality with the *Gana* members, now becomes their elder or superior—as the *Taitteriya Brahmana* describes it.**

It can be seen from this that as the primitive commune begins to change its pristine character and develop private property and classes rich and poor freemen and slaves, it ceases to be the old natural democracy the commune of the days of Indra and the gods. It begins to develop new organs to conduct its affairs, gradually approaching that stage

• ਤੁਹਾਵਾਂ ਦਿ ਸਪੂਰਾਤੁ ਪਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਿਵੀਵਿੰਗ । (ਸੀਰੀਜ਼ਿਕਲ)

४० एनसी प्रीस्प्री रिप्पि थे के पर नीचार्मा राजाने देवावधार्मा राजावधार्मा
सेइविच्चय्याते राजाद् राजेनाम् विविच्चय्यात् भावयुग (प्रा ८४)
य एह रिदाम् वाचयेन वर्णनि । गण्ठनि
राजावधम् । अप्य राजानार्मा रहेति । निरामे १२
भावयुग । (ने प्रा ११३३)

where the class contradictions become furious, break into violent struggles and ultimately establish that instrument of class rule, the State. Already these *Ganas* are giving up the language of the *Gana-Gotras* and speaking of *Rajyam*, a territorial political unit embracing both the *Gana* members and aliens.

In the early days of *Gana* communes, when the *Gana* was small, the whole *Visha* met together and administered its affairs. When they had to elect a leader for war, the *Visha* as a whole elected him. As war became a profession and the elected leadership got the character of more or less permanency, the *Visha* assembly, which was called the *Samiti* or *Narshita*, was replaced by the *Sabha*. The elected leadership, however, did not become a hereditary monarchy, but a privileged aristocracy. Its power, however, was derived from election and the elected leader still had to take the consecration from the *Gana*. When the *Gana* develops private property, *Varnas* and slavery, it becomes a *Rajyam*, and the leadership elected "to rule" becomes *Rajans*.

The aristocratic *Kulas* form into *Rajkulas*. When the class struggles were fought out during the course of history and the slave-owners became victorious, one of these *Rajkulas*, i.e., the biggest owner of the Sudras and land, became the hereditary monarch. The election ceremony then changes its character of election and the same old ceremony with a few changes is made to serve the purpose of the coronation of the monarch. In the *Samiti*, it was the full-fledged democracy of the *Gana* that functioned; in the *Sabha*, the narrow ring, though elected, of the heads of the propertied families that function. When the town and the country separate, handicrafts and trade, on one side, and agriculture, on the other, begin to bifurcate and form different centres of gravitation of production, exchange and property, the *Janapada* and *Paura* come into existence — the *Janapada* for the agrarian centres of property and the *Paura* for the rich handicraft-guilds and the merchants, who of course gravitate round the town and the monarch's court. When *Janapada* and *Paura* replace the *Samiti-Sabha*, the *Gana* has ended, the State is already in being, ruling for the benefit of the exploiting class over the exploited. This class

character of the Janapada and Paura is generally not seen by our historians.

In the works of Panini, the great grammarian, who lived after the Mahabharat war and in those chapters of the *Maha bharat* which were written in the comparatively later period, we find people living in the *Gana* way but we find the *Ganas* involved in furious struggles of the propertied *Kulas* amongst themselves for supremacy and of them all against the *Gana* democracy as a whole.

Panini mentions several confederacies of *Ganas* or *Gana Samghas* as he calls them, and classifies them by two names. Some he calls as *Ayudhajivin Samghas*.* These are later on mentioned by Kautilya as *Sastropajivin*** — both having the same meaning. The *Ayudhajivins* are also mentioned by another name — *Vartta Sastropajivin*†. This category of *Ganas* is contrasted with another category called the *Raja sabdopajivin* ‡. The social organisation denoted by these epithets has not been properly presented by any commentator—not even by Jayaswal whose great work it was that put all these *Ganas* on their feet in the framework of Indian history writing. No doubt these descriptions do signify a form of social-economic or socio-political organisation of the *Ganas*. But, it appears, the exact difference between these two and of them all with the ancient *Ganas* has not been grasped.

Ayudhajivin and *Sastropajivin Samghas* mean *Ganas* in which the *Gana* still retained the old characteristic of all its members being armed. But why is this mentioned as a special characteristic of social organisation? It means that the *Gana* members had not evolved class rule and the permanent class divisions, in which only the ruling class possessed the power of arms or the standing army as against the disarmed mass of the toilers, over whom such a class rules. It means a *Gana* in which the elected leadership had not yet become the exclusively armed hereditary nobility. The

• आयुधजीविसंघ

•• राजसंघसंघी

† वर्त्तासंघसंघी

‡ राजसंघसंघी

writers of the monarchical class State were bound to be struck with this characteristic of the *Gana*. It was a military democracy. It was, however, no longer in that absolutely classless condition of the most ancient communes. Property differences had penetrated it. Agriculture (*Vartta*), trade, money, wealth and patriarchal slavery had come into its fold, but the class contradictions had not become so acute as to have been completely fought out to the annihilation and disarming of the poor toiling Arya Vishas. All toiled in the *Gana* and all, except the *Sudra* slaves bore arms, and the rich were elected to the leadership of the armed toiling *Gana*. That is the *Vartta Sastropajivin* or *Ayudhajivin Samgha* we meet in Indian history almost upto 300 B C. The names of some of the *Samghas* are given as follows 1 The *Vrika*, 2 The *Damanī* ("and others"), 3-8 The confederacy of the six *Trigarttas* (the six members of this confederacy being Kaundoparatha, Dandakī, Kaushtakī, Jalamanī, Brahmagupta, Janakī)*, 9 The *Yaudheya* and others, 10 The *Parsva* and others, 11 *Kshudraka*, 12 *Malava*, 13 *Katha*, 14 *Saubhuti*, 15 *Shibi*, 16 *Patala*, 17 *Bhagala*, 18 *Kambhoja*, 19 *Surashtra*, 20. *Kshatriya*, 21 *Sreni*, 22 *Brahmanak*, 23 *Ambashtha*.

It may be seen here that under the pressure of the strong slave States of the Gangetic Valley and the growing agriculture and trade economy of the *Ganas* themselves, they were forming several confederacies for self-preservation, war and growth. But unfortunately, history had doomed them to extinction at the hands of the slave-owners' States of the "orthodox" Aryas of the Gangetic Valley.

Where were most of these *Ganas* located? Panini locates them in what is called the *Vahika* country, i.e., the Indus Valley, from the Punjab to down south in Sindh. The *Kshudrakas* and *Malavas* were near Sindh, the six *Trigarttas* were near about Jammu, in the Himalayan districts. We might say the whole of the west and south-west India, as far as the belt touching the Vindhya, was occupied by the military democracies of the above *Gana-Samghas*, declaring to

* य इस्तर्गत्तद्वाग्तु कैष्टे प्रथमाण्डकी ।
वैष्टकेजात्मानिश्च व्राज्युसोऽथजानकि ॥

history by their record that the State based on violence of one class the dictatorship of slave-owners and private property whether wearing the monarchical or republican robes had to fight for several hundred years before it could swallow the whole of India. The internal solidity and unity of the *Gana-Samghas*, even though getting impaired by property differences and slavery was yet so formidable that the conquering Greeks of Alexander had to face defeat at their hands on the banks of the Indus. And where they surrendered to Alexander it was because the propertied classes, already becoming powerful in these *Ganas* preferred peace with the invader to war and total annihilation if necessary.

Writing of the *Saubhuti* and *Katha Ganas*, the Greeks say that their women still married by their own choice (perhaps, meaning *Gandharva* and *Swayamvara*) They prized strength and beauty amongst their members. And the writer notes the following about the way the children were reared

"Here they do not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of parents may direct, for if they have remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of the child they order it to be killed."

This could only be possible in a *Gana* where the population due to absence of extreme forms of poverty on one side, and riches, on the other normally bred healthy children where defective birth was an exception where the rights of private property family and inheritance had not become totally paramount over the interests of the *Gana* & here under the pressure of war and the backwardness of resources and technique of production of the barbarian are such precautions had to be taken in order to rear soldiers.

That the property differences and consequently class differences had overtaken the *Gana Samgha* when we meet them in Panini Kautilya and the Greeks is quite evident. These differences were even fixed into the language structure. The free citizen of the *Malla* was called 'Mallah' but the Sudra slave and artisan was called differently as

Malavyah The Yaudheyas had vested the management of the *Gana-Samgha* in a council of five thousand representatives But who could be a representative? One, who, when elected, supplied the *Gana* with an elephant Thus the elephant-men and non-elephant-men, already showed that the *Gana-Samgha* had been divided into rich and poor. The effect was seen in the Ambashthas, who are reported to have surrendered to Alexander on the advice of these rich elders, as against the voice of the others Selfish private property always surrenders the nation to the invaders in order to preserve its own class interests

The second category of *Gana-Samghas* mentioned in recorded history are those known as *Rajasabdopajivin* These are *Ganas* where differentiation of property and organisation of tribal wars have gone to such an extent and the commune democracy has weakened so much that the customarily elected leadership of the *Ganas* has transformed itself into a hereditary nobility Only the houses of this nobility now can be elected to the ruling councils These houses are the *Rajans* of the *Gana-Samghas*, and the *Rajans* were not necessarily the generals or leaders of the army The best known of these *Rajan-Ganas* are the Lichhavi, Malla, Sakya, Maurya, Kukara, Kuru, Panchala, etc The Andhak-Vrishnis of the famous Krishna of the *Mahabharat* also joined their ranks later on Some branches of the famous Kurus and Madras, who with their *Vairajya* constitution became, so to say, the founders of the slavery of the Sudras, became *Rajanya Gana-Samghas*, developing first a hereditary nobility and later the monarchical slave States which culminated in the Bharat war Some branches of the Madras, however, seem to have remained behind and stuck to their loose division of labour and not a very pronounced property and class differentiation They, therefore, paid the penalty to the slave-owning writers of the *Smritis* and the *Shanti Parva*, who warn all decent Brahmins from going to the country of the Madras and Vahikas The special sin of the Vahikas and the Madras is that these men change their *Varna* in rotation, some day one is a Brahmain, next a Kshatriya, then a Vaisya, then a Sudra and again a Brahmin Their women have freedom and all drink, eat and are merry.

This is certainly "sinful", according to the culture of the slave-owners, who alone can have the monopoly of pleasure and freedom, riding on the backs of their Sudra slaves!

In history, we also find one example of a whole Gana becoming a closed "malign aristocracy", as Engels calls it against the other inhabitants of the territory. It is the Lichhavi Gana of Vaisali. The Lichhavis had 7707 Rajans living in the city of Vaisali, who were the ruling class, who alone elected the executives and officials to administer and rule. But the total population of citizens was 1,68,000, divided into two classes, the "outer citizens" and "inner citizens" the latter being the Vaisaliyans.

From these few examples it can be seen that the Gana communes of ancient days and the later development of classes and class contradictions among them, leading to changes in their organisational structure and ideological make-up are a fact of Indian history and not a fiction.

Chapter XII

Sanguinary Wars and the Rise of the State and Danda

THE VIOLENT STRUGGLE of private property to become the ruling class was already foreshadowed in the *Deva Satra* story of the war between gods and Vishnu referred to before. The inconclusive stage of that development could not remain where it was. The dialectics of productive forces would not permit it. According to the historian Bhishma, who all along has been telling us in the frankest terms, the sordid story of the fall of commune says that when exchange and private property, greed and accumulation grew in the ancient commune, it split into hostile forces and fierce struggle ensued. The gods were disturbed. The reason of the disturbance of the gods is very peculiar. These gods, who were none else but mortals like others, were disturbed because they were being reduced to "equality with mortals". They went to Brahma, the Creator. It is interesting to note here that while in the early narration, Bhishma tells us that the *Brahman* had perished due to conflicts, only four lines later, the gods visit Brahma to find the way out. This Brahma is the mythical Creator, not the *Brahman*-commune. What is the outcome of this confabulation, this arbitration, if it can be so called, of the Divine regulator? He gave the gods

a new constitution to order the world. In the old one, the people lived in a self-acting *Dharma*, mutually protecting each other. There was no force of one class over another to regulate their relations no *Danda*, no State, no kings. They were not necessary then. What was the essence of the new constitution? The new relations of economy and family were upheld by force or violence, called the "Danda". Now *Dharma Artha, Kama* a new trio, the *Trivarga*, could not function automatically but had to be regulated by *Danda*. This first constitution of the slave-owners' State in India* was called by the name of *Vishalaksha* and the *Mahabharata* says that it underwent modifications at the hands of *Bahudantaka, Brihaspati* and *Kavi*.

Though this new class rule of the slave-owners based on violence was sanctified by the blessings of the Divine Creator it remained still unstable. Hardly had five or six kings ruled than a fresh conflict broke out. It seems this time it was led by one of the kings himself who walked over to the camp of the *Visha* democracy against the *Brahma Kshatra* class. King *Vena* revolted against the new order and fought the *Brahmins* and the *Kshatriyas*. *Vena* was assisted and advised in this venture by his intelligent wife *Suneetha*, who most probably was fretting at the overthrow of matriarchy and the democracy of the woman. But however great may be *Suneetha* and *Vena* the new social forces could not reverse their steps back into an epoch which was dead for ever the epoch of the primitive commune. What *Vena* and his likes could achieve was to rudely shake the ruling classes and soften the harshness of exploitation until the productive forces ripened into another revolution. But that could not be yet. The historical role of slavery had not been exhausted. The clearing up of vast forest lands, agriculture and handicrafts, exchange and trade had vast capacity to grow within the framework of

* ततो राज्यमहात्मा एव एके राज्यकाम् ।
 वृत्तदीर्घेतावे वायव्याग्रामित्य ॥ ११
 'वृत्ते इति विद्यानो तता एव राज्यम् ॥ १०
 'वृत्ते राज्यम् । वृत्तावात् राज्य ॥ ११

and free men and the Rajan-State, based on violent exploitation of one class by another ousts the Gana commune based on peaceful cooperation

The flight of the irreconcilable contradictions, thus, gave birth to the Rajyam the State, which naturally belonged to the economically dominant class, hence to the Brahma Kshatra, who henceforth disarmed, suppressed and exploited the great Visha democracy and Sudra slavery. The ruling classes now pour forth their injunction on the defeated democracy in the name of divine order. The key note of all existence henceforth is fear inspired by force exercised by the State, by Danda. Mutual cooperation, peace and love have vanished in the welter of private property greed and violence of the slave-owning classes. Whereas formerly people were put on the right course and conduct by mere word by just public opinion and punishment was only public censure (Dhigdanda) now people have to be driven by the violence of the State the army and the police into exploitation into loyalty and respect towards ruling private property. If they failed execution (Vadhadanda) the extreme penalty of the law was the punishment. With the birth of the State Hindu literature begins to sing the praises of this new apparatus of violence. If this violence were not there if the Aratal Stateless, society were to reappear property would vanish family would collapse religion would perish and the world come to an end. In the name of property family and religion the ruling classes violated the freedom property and family of the toiling Vishes and the enslaved Sudras. In the name of Yajnas and Dena the Brahma Kshatra rulers now expropriated the cattle and wealth of the masses and grabbed the vast lands brought into cultivation by the Vaishya-Sudra toilers. Defeated and disarmed during the prolonged struggle the toiling humanity was forced into submission and accepted the new order. But it revolted again and again was again defeated and enslaved until new productive forces and new revolutionary forces arose from within itself. To the again the toilers was also added the internal class conflicts among the ruling classes, the struggles of the Brahma and Kshatra houses to appropriate each other's gains of exploitation.

of the Vaisyas and Sudras. Hindu mythology is full of the feuds of Parasuram against the Kshatriyas, of the feuds of Haihaya, Sahasrарjun, Vaitahavya, Srunjaya, Nahusha, and several others. The vast *Ashramas* of the Brahmins with their hundreds of acres of land and cattle, apprentice workers (as disciples) and Vaisya-Sudra "followers," producing wealth for them, sprawl across the pages of Hindu history, blowing up the fairy tales of Brahmin mendicancy, poverty, uprightness, etc. The tales of the Kshatriya houses is a self-admitted record of exploitation and expropriation of the people in the name of governing society and protecting it from "destruction", i.e., from external invasion and internal class revolution. It is not our purpose here to go into the history of kings and dynasties, their good or bad record, or into the history of famous Brahmin families who built vast landed estates of *Ashramas*, fought battles, became generals and chieftains of vast armies or even rulers of States. We, therefore, leave aside for the present the sifting of that well-known record and reducing it to intelligible history in the light of the historical laws of development we have been showing in the foregoing. We shall only see the new organisation of the Aryan society that came out of the fierce class struggles among the members of the dying *Ganas* of antiquity.

Why was *Gana* society forced to give up its gentile constitution and submit, though under duress, to the new organisation of *Rajyan*, the State? In what essentials did the *Rajya* differ from the *Gana*? The historical process that led to this has been summed up by Engels as follows:

"Let us now see what had become of the gentile constitution in this social upheaval. Confronted by the new forces in whose growth it had no share, the gentile constitution was helpless. The necessary condition for its existence was that the members of a gens or at least of a tribe were settled together in the same territory and were its sole inhabitants. That had long ceased to be the case. Every territory now had a heterogeneous population belonging to the most varied gentes and tribes, everywhere slaves, protected persons and

aliens lived side by side with citizens.* The settled conditions of life which had only been achieved towards the end of middle age of barbarism were broken up by the repeated shifting and changing of residence under the pressure of trade, alteration of occupation, and changes in the ownership of the land. The members of the gentile bodies could no longer meet to look after their common concerns (which they formerly did in the meeting of their *Samiti* or *Narishta*)¹⁴ only unimportant matters, like the religious festivals were still perfunctorily attended to. In addition to needs and interests with which the gentile bodies were intended and fitted to deal, the upheaval in productive relations and the resulting changes in the social structure had given rise to new needs and interests which were not only alien to the old gentile order but directly counter to it, at every point. The interests of the groups of handcraftsmen which had arisen with the division of labour the special needs of the town as opposed to the country called for new organs (such as *Janapada* and *Paura*) but each of these groups was composed of people of most diverse gentes phratries and tribes and even included aliens such organs had therefore to be formed outside the gentile constitution, alongside of it and hence in opposition to it. And this conflict of interests was at work within every gentile body appearing in its most extreme form in the association of rich and poor usurers and debtors in the same gens and the same tribe. Further there was the new mass of population outside the gentile bodies which as in Rome (as in *Vaisali* *Magadha*, *Patala* etc) was able to become a power in the land and at the same time was too num-

• शैक्षणिक विज्ञानपुस्तक वार्षिकोपनयनमा ३५

पारदायदेवप्युपरि शिवायां दरश ग्रहा ॥ प्रमु ॥ ४४

A contact with the aliens had to be purified by performing Passikha.

• शाही वरापान पुस्तक मैट्रिक्स

ଦେଖିଲାମ୍ ପାଶୁଗାୟ ଏହି ବ୍ୟାପା

पुराणे मन वरम म गृह्णा का । वैष्णव १३ १४

rous to be gradually absorbed into the kinship groups and tribes. In relation to this mass, the gentile bodies stood opposed as closed privileged corporations, the primitive natural democracy had changed into a malign aristocracy (visible even as late as in the Malla-Lichhavi *Ganas* of Buddha's times). Lastly the gentile constitution had grown out of a society which knew no internal contradictions, and it was only adapted to such a society. It possessed no means of coercion except public opinion. But there was a society which by all its economic conditions of life had been forced to split itself into freemen and slaves, into the exploiting rich and exploited poor, a society which not only could never again reconcile these contradictions, but compelled always to intensify them. Such a society could only exist either in the continuous open fight of these classes against one another or else under the rule of a third power which apparently standing above the warring classes, suppressed their open conflict and allowed the class struggle to be fought out at most in the economic field, in so-called legal form. The gentile constitution was finished. It had been shattered by the division of labour and its result, the cleavage of society into classes. It was replaced by the *State*.

"The State is, therefore, by no means a power imposed on society from without, just as little is it 'the reality of the moral idea', 'the image and reality of reason' as Hegel maintains (and also the ancient and modern Hindu writers maintain). Rather it is a product of society at a particular stage of development, it is the admission that this society has involved itself in insoluble self-contradictions and is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms 'which it is powerless to exorcise'."

What were the characteristics of this new organ of class society, the *Rajyam* State, which distinguished it from the old *Gana-Gotra* organisation?

In contrast to the old gentile organisation, the State is distinguished firstly by the grouping of its members on a territorial basis. The old gentile bodies, formed and held

together by ties of blood, had become inadequate largely because they presupposed that the gentile members were bound to one particular locality, whereas this had long ceased to be the case. The territory was still there but the people had become mobile. The territorial division was, therefore, taken as the starting point and the system introduced by which citizens exercised their public rights and duties where they took up residence, without regard to gen or tribe. This organisation of the citizens of the State according to domicile is common to all States. To us, therefore this organisation seems natural but hard and protracted struggles were necessary before it was able to displace the old organisation founded on kinship—to displace the *Gana* and replace it by the *Rajya*.

The second distinguishing characteristic is the institution of a public force which is no longer immediately identical with the people's own organisation of themselves as an armed power. This special public force is needed because a self-acting armed organisation of the people has become impossible since their cleavage into classes. The kings now keep the standing army and the police to execute the law, the essence of which is to hold the exploited class to the bonds of exploitation, of labour. The *Chaturanga Sena*, the *Rajpurushas* the rights of the *Kshatriya* and *Brahmin* houses alone to bear arms and to form the command of the army now appear on the historical scene. This public force consists not merely of armed men but also of its material appendages, such as prisons, courts, and coercive institutions of all kinds, the essence of them all being *Danda*. The old gentile society living without class antagonisms, had no need for *Shastra* the laws of coercion or the mode of dictatorship of one class over another. *Shastra* is a product of class society. Hence it comes into existence with the rise of slavery and is associated with kings of the slave States. It is therefore properly defined as an instrument of coercion suppression and the *Apastambha Dharma Sutras* frankly state that 'where work or functioning proceeds from liking (and not from dislike or antagonism), there is no *Shastra*.'*

In order to maintain this public power contributions

such names. When later on territorial States came into existence, and dynasties with their capital cities were founded, the naming of the land became subject to the will of the ruling houses and such other factors. But generally most parts of India got their names from the name of the dominant nation or confederacy of *Ganas* that occupied, cultivated and ruled it—such as Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kirat, Dravid, Kamboja, Matsya, Kuru, Madra, Vahika, etc. It is interesting also to note that except for the Sindhu, no modern name of a river has succeeded in naming a country after itself. Even the famous holy Ganges did not get that chance.

The name Bharat Vaishya is derived from Bharat, the son of Dushyanta in the *Gana-Samghas* of Pururavas. It was just about that time that territorial States with hereditary monarchy had begun to come into existence and the primitive democracies were fast disappearing in the holocaust of the rising slave States. But even this name, from Bharat of the Purus, becomes current when the Purus of Hastinapur (founded by Hastin, who was fifth in the line from Bharat) had tried to destroy the surrounding kingdoms, military democracies and *Gana-Samghas*, and, in the attempt to build the biggest slave empire of that period, landed themselves in the Bharat war, with its disastrous results.

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Chapter XIII

The Mahabharat—the Civil War of Slave-Owners and Gana-Samghas

THE CLASSICAL HOLY LAND where Arya empires struggled to grow on the basis of slavery is the Gangetic Valley. From the Kurukshetra in the west to Pataliputra (Patna) in modern Bihar in the east was the stretch of land in which the confederacies of Arva Ganas grew into stable rich, monarchical slave States before the Mahabharat war. North-south they had extended from the foot of the Himalayas to Avanti in modern Central India and some had succeeded in penetrating the Vindhya range and establish themselves as far as Vidarbha.

It may as well be remembered here that India at that time was neither known as Hindustan nor Sindhustan which is the same thing. Hindustan is a name that the country had received from the river Sindhu. The Saka Palava and other tribes of Middle Asia, who entered this country in the comparatively modern period, via the Sindhu river named the country after that river. The letter S among these people is pronounced as H and there the name stuck to the country. The ancient writers and peoples named the land where they lived after the name of the tribe or nation that occupied it — such as Matsya Desh the country of the Matsyas. The Bhishma Parva of the Mahabharat mentions

200 such names. When later on territorial States came into existence, and dynasties with their capital cities were founded, the naming of the land became subject to the will of the ruling houses and such other factors. But generally most parts of India got their names from the name of the dominant nation or confederacy of *Ganas* that occupied, cultivated and ruled it—such as Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kirat, Dravid, Kamboja, Matsya, Kuru, Madra, Vahika, etc. It is interesting also to note that except for the Sindhu, no modern name of a river has succeeded in naming a country after itself. Even the famous holy Ganges did not get that chance.

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Ancient Indian history most decisively breaks off with the Bharat war. All ancient history of India thus can be divided into the pre-Bharat and post-Bharat periods. Every tradition, popular, historical, mythical, agrees that that was an event in history which changed the whole course of development and ushered in a new epoch. Tradition sums it

to say that the present Kaliyuga — Kali era — began with the Bharat war. Why does tradition say so and why is all ancient traditional history in India so persistent in pegging all their measuring rods of history to this events? In chronological sequence, the Rama-Ravana war is prior to the Bharat war by about five hundred years. But unfortunately the true historical conditions of that period are not available with that detail and truth which is found regarding the Bharat war. The Recitator of Valmiki is a very recent compilation and is a poetical composition, representative of the post-Shastric feudal India, putting the idealized picture of the feudal period in to the Rama-Ravana war. In fact Valmiki seems to have found the Bharat epic heroes more convenient for his ideology and sacred upon a hero who works for a and life according could be said, in a nothing because was remembered in popular memory. And when Valmiki is trying to make an idealist hero and a son of his but he fails and only a loving work turned into an oppressive builder of a kingdom.

In the given The so-called truthfulness of Valmiki's epic when he treacherously kills Rama is belied when he kills a Sura for a kingdom by becoming a cultured Arva. Even though it is contradicted by tradition which in says that Rama lived in the period when no such kind of treacherous marriage took place. Even Valmiki could not take into account that the Rama's wife Sita was "devadasi" — i.e., no wife.

It is for these reasons that the Rama's wife Sita is taken as a violation to all the family references available.

The Rama of Aranya in the fifth chapter has come to the end of his life.

The conversion of Rama to the "devadasi" is formed as a "part" of the Rama of the Forest of Aranya.

But "part" does not mean the whole. The Sita is the whole of the Rama of Aranya.

Thus certain parts against

Ganas, by utilising their internal rivalries, tell us that whatever the religious value and content Ramas worship may have for the sinful rich and the afflicted poor and whatever the different uses to which his God-hood has been put to in history, the kingdom of Dasharathi Ram in the pre-Bharat era was one of the first rising slave kingdoms of the Gangetic Valley

The house of Rama, though living longest in history, got overshadowed by the rise of the house of the Purus of Hastinapur. There were also the famous kingdoms of Kashi, Magadha, Videh and the Yadavas of Mathura. By matrimonial alliances or war, the various *Rajan* families of the Gangetic Valley were coalescing into bigger kingdoms, ripening into absolute imperial systems. A picture of these can be obtained from the dynasties described in the various *Puranas*, especially the *Harivansha* and the rich traditions of the *Mahabharat Gana-Samghas* like the Andhak-Vrishnis, also described as Satvatas and Yadavas, who have contributed Krishna to religious and social history of India, were being forced into war, defeat and migration (as at the hands of Shishupal). The Yadavas migrated to the west, with their whole *Gana-Samgha*. The *Rajan* families went to war with each other, a thing unheard of and considered most sinful in the old *Gana* democracy. Kamsa of Mathura, Jarasandha of Magadha and the Kauravas of Hastinapur were attempting to become big empire builders, overthrowing all vestiges of the old tribal military democracy and establishing absolute hereditary kingships, amassing wealth, land and slaves, by a furious war with neighbouring tribes and civil war with one's own rival kins. The clash of these expanding slave States with the *Gana-Samghas* of the original inhabitants, the civil war of the slave-owning houses for appropriation of the vast wealth produced by their own Vaisyas and Sudras, finally culminated in the *Mahabharat* war. Democracy of the *Gana* members was long ago dead among the Kauravas of Hastinapur. The ancient Kurus of the *Purushasukta*, the founders of patriarchal slavery, had now blossomed into a big territorial slave State. The democracy of *Gana* members narrowed into the aristocracy of the elders, of the rich *Kulas* (houses), and even they were

up by saying that the present *Kal*yuga — *Kali* era — began with the Bharat war. Why does tradition say so and why is all ancient traditional history in India so persistent in pegging all their measuring rods of history to this events? In chronological sequence the Rama Ravana war is prior to the Bharat war by about five hundred years. But unfortunately the true historical conditions of that period are not available with that detail and truth which is found regarding the Bharat war. The *Ramayan* of Valmiki is a very recent compilation and is a poetical composition representative of the post Bharat feudal India, pouring the ideological make-up of the feudal period into the Rama Ravana war. In fact, Valmiki seems to have found the Bharat epic heroes inconvenient for his ideology and seized upon a hero about whose period and life anything could be said, since nothing definite was remembered in popular memory. And when Valmiki is trying to make an idealist hero and God out of his king he fails and only a loving youth transformed into an oppressive builder of a kingdom stands out in the poem. The so-called truthfulness of Valmiki's hero stands exposed when he treacherously kills *Valli* his humanity is belied when he kills a Sudra for trying to liberate himself by becoming a cultured Arya. Even his ideal monogamy is questioned by tradition which in the Jain Sutras says that Rama lived in the period when primitives had not yet prohibited brother-sister marriage and that *Sita* was Rama's sister. Even Valmiki could not suppress the fact that she was "Ayonija"—i.e., not born in the house!

It is for these reasons that the Rama Ravana war can not be taken as a milestone in ancient history. But even with the scanty references available it can be stated that the Raghus of Ayodhya in the time of Dasharath Rama's father had come to the end of the pristine *Gana* democracy. The succession of Rama to the seat of rulership held by Dasharath is formally subject to the sanction of the assembly of the Raghus of Ayodhya but already the signs of hereditary Rajan ship or monarchy are visible in the formality. The Sudra slave and his violent suppression at the hands of the Raghuruling class the tremendous drive of Rama carried out against the surrounding free tribal

Ganas, by utilising their internal rivalries, tell us that whatever the religious value and content Ramas worship may have for the sinful rich and the afflicted poor and whatever the different uses to which his God-hood has been put to in history, the kingdom of Dasharathi Ram in the pre-Bharat era was one of the first rising slave kingdoms of the Gangetic Valley

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now on the point of annihilation at the hands of absolute monarchy. That is why Krishna complains in the meeting of the Kaurava elders that that has been the bane of the Kauravas—their elders have proved incapable of using force against the younger princes who were running post haste to overthrow all remnants of ancient democracy. This incapacity arose from the fact that these elders who were supposed to guard the democracy of the *Gana-Samghas* had themselves become its hangmen. They themselves were after wealth, slaves and land. War had become a profession with them. The concentration of wealth was proceeding at such a rapid rate that Drona, who was one of the most skilful technicians and teachers of war weapons, was in the grip of poverty and had to feed his son Ashvathama when he asked for milk, with water mixed with white flour, and thus pacify the crying child. No wonder he was willing to sell his services to any slave-owner who paid. The aristocratic slave-owners were living in fear of the slaves and the uncouth tribes from whom the slaves were drawn and the slightest attempt by any one of them to bear arms or claim the rights of a human being was ferociously punished. Had Ekalavya, the Nishada boy not been a victim of his own loyalty to the ideology of his masters, he would not have lost his fingers to Drona and would have been a great Sudra rival to Arjun. Greed for wealth had gripped these slave-owners and for wealth they were prepared to launch the biggest massacre in ancient Indian history—the Mahabharat war.

The logic of slavery money and class rule had rebounded on the slave-owners. The technique and heroism that they had developed as *Gana-Samghas* to conquer the original inhabitants the Rakshasas, Nagas, Nishadas, Dravidas, etc., had almost come to a dead wall after the occupation of the Gangetic and Indus Valleys. Formerly conquest was easy with the horse and the iron tipped arrows which the invading Aryas had and which the local population had not. The expanding *Ganes* spread and carved out domains for themselves. But a private property slavery trade and concentration of wealth grew the *Gana* democracy split into hostile classes and civil war gripped them.

As expansion for land and slaves became more and more difficult, the aristocratic houses tried to carve each other out. Concentration of property ran counter to the demands of kins and near kins to share growing property according to the laws of old *Gana* democracy. War with alien tribes for slaves and loot rebounded and produced war with one's own kins. And the slave-owning class itself fought its own slave-owning brothers for a share of loot. Slavery of the conquered enslaved the conquerors in their greed. It killed their own former *Gana* democracy. Otherwise, who ever had heard of brothers and their wives being sold into slavery over a game of dice at the hands of their own brothers? Which mother in the old days of the *Yajna* commune would have cast away a beautiful son like Karna, as Kunti did, because he was born to her as a virgin? And yet the illegitimate child, Karna, by his bringing-up with the humble fishermen of Angas, was more generous and brave than his "legitimate" brothers. And Arjun, the half-legitimate son of Pandu, could win even in ordinary sports only by vaunting forth his pride of a slave-owner's *Rajan* parenthood, while his competitor, Karna, could not tell his father's name! The humanity of the primitive *Gana* commune had succumbed to the malignity and pride of wealth of the slave-owners. The Mahabharat war was the result.

The Bharat war, to begin with, started as a war between the princes of the same ruling family of the kingdom of Hastinapur. It began as a civil war among kins. That was totally against the *Yajna-Gana* principles, where kins could not kill kins.

In the alliances that each side formed, there were several *Gana-Samghas* who also split among themselves and went to war against each other, by joining either the Kauravas or Pandavas—viz., the Satvatas. It was a general crack-up of all *Gana-Samgha* democracies.

The kin-princes of several other States also split among themselves and went to war—viz., the Magadhas. The civil war had entered every ruling house of the nobility.

Several tribes of the original inhabitants, whose chiefs had formed ties with these ruling houses, either after defeat or by mere alliance, also joined the war—viz., Rakshasas.

Some tribes however hailed the civil war as an opportunity for them to get rid of these big expanding States, which were conquering and enslaving them — viz., the Nagas Dravidas, etc. They hoped to return to their good old days on the ruins of these kingdoms—a vain hope.

The prominent chiefs of the confederacy of the Yadava *Samghas* though related to the Kurus, refused to join in the war and under the leadership of Krishna tried to act as mediators. But once the war began, their neutrality, except for a few became merely formal as that of Krishna, who personally sided with the Pandavas, while his armies joined with the Kauravas. It means the Andhak Vrishnis also split and took opposite sides.

Thus the Mahabharat war involved almost the whole of North India in the terrible carnage. The whole old world of the *Gana-Samghas* military democracies, aristocratic *Kula-Samghas* slave States and all were thrown in one boiling cauldron of the war. It was the end of the old world of *Ganas* and their values, their morality and ethics, their economy and social relations. A new world wanted to stabilise the world of greed wealth and concentrated power of the slave-owners over the exploited Sudras and *Vaisyas*.

This terrific crisis in social relations and ideological values reflecting them is in a way hinted at in the episode of the *Bhagwadgeeta*. Leaving aside for the moment the various schools of philosophy which that book discusses, its origin suggests that it gave the final death-blow to the collective *Gana* relations and their ideology and enthroned, almost in a cynical fashion the supremacy of the morality of private property and class relations. The new relations had become a fact the word of *Gecta* gave them a theory and tried to silence critics who may speak from the stand point of the old *Gana* democracy. In the name of the new Avatar of Divinity and *Kali* age the *Gecta* declared that the age of *Janiship* and collective *Gana* democracy was over the age of class antithesis and exploitation had come the ethics and morality of the former were dead the ethics and morality of the latter were supreme.

Certainly the eighteen chapters of the *Gecta* were not

produced between Krishna and Arjun right in the middle of the field of battle, as the traditional account tells us. Even with due respect to the great personalities involved, Krishna was too much of a realist to put himself in such a funny position. The theoretician of the Mahabharat war compiled that book in some peaceful corner. But the compilation is not merely an after thought, nor is the war situation taken merely as an excuse to retail out all the philosophical schools of the writer's period. If that were the only motive, it could as well have come in the *Shanti Parva*, where all sorts of questions and controversies have been raised and answered. The main question which the writer wants to answer in the *Geeta*, was a general question raised by all thinking people of the Bharat war. That question is neither of *Sanyasa* nor of *Karmayoga*. The *Geeta*, no doubt, discusses the main question of philosophy—the relation of being to consciousness. It even wants to give an opinion on the relation of diet to thinking and behaviour. But, with all that, it is clear to every student of history that Arjun's malady was not dietetic nor his problem one of choosing some school of philosophy. He had posed a simple question that was perhaps uppermost in the minds of all the common men of that period who had still preserved the moral and ethical loyalties of *Gana* relations. His claim for a share in the kingdom, even five villages, if not more, had brought to him to a pass, where he had to battle and kill his *Gurus*, grandfathers, brothers, uncles, in short, every known kin, to kill whom, according to the ideology of the old period, for whatever reason, was sin, absolutely taboo*. Old *Gana* democracies trained their people to look upon such killing with the greatest horror. How was all this permissible and not sinful? If the old morality held, then all the leaders on either side were

* आचार्या पितरं पुत्रास्तथैत न पितापदा ।

मातुलाः शशुराः पौत्राः इयाला ममवन्धनमन्या ॥ ३४

एतान्न इन्तुमिच्छामि इन्नेपि मधुसून

अपि त्रैलोक्यराज्यस्य हेतो । किन्तु महीकृते । ३५

अहो वत महत्पापं वतुं व्यवसिना व्यम् ।

यद्राज्यसुखलाभेन इन्तु स्वजनमुद्धता ॥ गीता अ १ ४५

wrong, taking all the *Kulas* to ruin and hell. Give up the claims for property and kingdom and thus avoid the kin massacre and the sin of it and retire (*Sanyasa*)—this was the only logical result of the *Gana-Samgha*, *Kula-Samgha* laws. But if the war had to be fought, what was the new ethical law new social value, that sanctioned it and made it sinless to kill the kins? Arjun raised the question the commonality of the *Ganas* felt that way and demanded an answer. The theoretician of the *Geeta* gave the answer. The answer shows the hopeless contradictions in which society had involved itself and to which the theoretician of class society could find no profounder answer than to say "It is fate it is your class duty trust and obey" And as if to make up for the deficiency of reason and to buttress the new class law with fright and terror, Krishna is supposed to have revealed his *Virat* form in which the destiny of all is visualised in advance. Arjun is silenced and says he is satisfied. Common humanity is talked out dumb-founded terrorised and drugged and goes into an unholy massacre made holy by new relations philosophy and law. Looking at the whole thing rationally and historically and without considerations of religion the sum total of the *Geeta* episode boils down to that

How does the *Geeta* lay down the moral theory of the new territorial class State as against the moral law of the *Gana* kin commune?

In the old commune of collective labour and consumption, when variety of products and work grew division of labour—*Varnas*—came into existence. Each *Varna* had its work allotted but all product was social and so also consumption. The functioning in a given *Varna* of a commune member did not create for him any special reward returns or property rights. *Varna* only specialised labour and improved the product and work of social organisation but when exchange trade private property and money arose each private family created its private property and rights according to the *Varna* in which it was situated. Naturally the *Varnas* connected with war exchange and direction of production became the economically dominant *Varnas*. Those who were poor in the dominant *Varna* of the *Brahmin* & *Shastriya*

were thrown out into the toiling *Varnas*, into *Vrishalatu*, as they called it. The *Varnas* became classes. *Varna* affinity was replaced by class affinity, loyalty, duty and rewards. The upper two *Varnas* became the exploiting classes and the other two exploited. Except the Sudra slave, one could change from one *Varna* into another, that is from one class into another, according to property and status. Class rights *Varna* rights, became superior to and suppressed *Gana* commune rights.

It was the *Varna* duty of the *Kshatriyas* to war and annihilate the enemy. But the enemy in *Gana* commune days was always an alien. In the absence of class antagonisms inside the commune there was no question of the *Kshatriya* warring with his *Gana* members, who were all kins, blood relations to each other. When private property and slaves entered the commune, the *Kshatriya* and *Brahmin* became the exploiters and organs of force over the slaves and the poor inside the broken commune. Now it was their *Varna* duty to war with everyone alien and kin, both for preservation and perpetuation of the new economy and class relation based on exploitation. To fight and kill in order to keep, increase or recover wealth, cattle, villages, land, slaves, kingships, all now the property of the person or family concerned, became the new duty and right of the *Brahmin* and *Kshatriya* families, no matter who was the enemy or the opponent concerned. He may be kin, blood relation, *Guru* or grandfather, *Gana* member or alien. That is the first lesson which the *Geeta* gives to Arjun as a *Kshatriya*. It is based on the new relations of *Varna*-class antagonisms and not on the old *Dharma* or the self-acting armed organisation of the people of primitive communism. If you fight and win, you earn the kingdom of the land and pleasure, if you are killed in the battle, you still win Heaven—that is the only norm of life and behaviour for the new rich ruling classes. In the youthful days of the State and private property, the *Kshatriya* had at least to risk his neck, while exploiting the poor *Vaisya* and *Sudra* and fighting the tribes to enslave them. In the later days, even that risk was transferred to the hired standing armies!

Having dissolved the duties and *Dharma* of the collec-

tive and enthroned the violence of one class over another the Geeta is unable to guarantee a well-coordinated class society in which both the exploiters and exploited, even within the framework of exploitation, can be sure of life and living free from recurring crises. In the old commune even within the framework of its poverty of productive forces, each one was sure of his share of the collective product he produced it for use and the commune gave it to him for use. The product did not leave the hands of the producer to be metamorphosed into money into something totally different from what it was for use, and find itself circling round the whole world in trade, as it did now on the magic carpet of gold—Hiranya. Now that wonderful abstraction, gold money was valid everywhere in all sizes and forms, among all classes and *Varnas* and for all things on earth. What mysterious abstract force did this Hiranya contain to make it so all pervading and yet so illusive? What magic abstraction was it that gave it the power to move all things and become everything at the same time? Why was it that he who created a useful thing made for joy could not enjoy it except through the intervention of money—Hiranya the Mysterious? Why was it that when he changed it into money that money itself would not buy the same thing today as it did yesterday? The slave laboured and the master got the pleasure someone traded and lost and someone gained. Had man's living life a law by which given his honest labour he could get his honest living? Oh, God! Have you also come out of the womb of the golden Hiranya and become *Hiranya garbha*?¹

The primitive commune had no such questions, it had no need for the philosophy of harmonising antagonistic human relations. The Vedic literature of the ancient commune prayed shouted, did dance and magic and scratched its head to find out how the cow could be persuaded to give more milk. The Vedic "philosopher" marvelled that the green

¹ The later chapters of the Rigveda call the Creator by the name of Vishwa Karma and Hiranya-garbha, and the mortonic creation of Vedanta philosophy correlating the Atman and Brahman, is partly derived from these ideas (See Rigveda X, 121.)

grass that went in the stomach of the black cow came out as white milk and hot. He marvelled and was even frightened that the seed dropped in the earth sprouted and came back again manifold. He wanted to know why? He wanted to know how all this Nature worked, who moved it. He felled a tree, cut a chip, made an arrow, thought and planned, reasoned cause and effect, pursued and killed a deer and ate it. He was happy. How did the Nature-given tree-twig become an arrow and the deer his food? Because he planned it and he laboured. But how the tree and deer came there, why some day you find the deer and some day you cannot? His main problem was one of understanding Nature and getting hold of it to live and grow and be happy. He saw people die and he saw them in dreams. He saw himself flying, wandering in strange places in dreams, while yet in his place round the *Yajna* fire, in the *Yajna* home. Had he not something in him which lived beyond him, which planned and thought? He imagined spirits and souls, he saw himself, i.e., life like him, in everything. He was generalising, learning, "philosophising" to fathom the processes of the world. He was probing logic, reason, thinking, sensation, the relation of consciousness to being. It was at that stage that the only philosophical *Sukta*, the *Nasadiya Sukta* in the *Rigveda*, was born. But the *Vedas* and their *Yajna* commune never went beyond that. It was thus that the roads to early *Upanishadic* philosophy were being laid.

But man at that stage was not involved in battling with his own creation, his own social forces. There was no antagonism there wanting to be explained. His food fed him and his hunger went and he was happy. His cloth clothed him and he felt warm and he was happy.

Now came a society of antagonism and exploitation, his food left him and fed somebody else, who did no labour for it. His cloth left him and robed the master, while he shivered. If he questioned, he was hit. If he refused to create, the violence of all "society" descended on him to force him to create. He was told it was the duty to create. If he asked for a share enough to let him live, he was accused of greed and taught to be modest. Thus came that profound principle of the *Geeta* and *Upanishadic* philosophy.

"You have only to do and go on doing what has been ordained for you by your station in life. You have no control or right over the results of what you do. Do not do things with an eye on getting the fruits of your doings and never stop working"*

This is the famous lesson of the Geeta that has been preached to the protesting Arjun and common man for centuries since the Mahabharat war. It is the essence of the philosophy of class society involved in contradictions anarchy crises and chance which cannot guarantee results according to plan in social life. Private property and anarchy of production, divorce of the producer from control over the product, which was never possible in the primitive commune and will not be possible under the Socialism of future called forth the above slogans of the religion of the class State to hold the producer to his slavery and poverty and to justify the ruling class in its job of suppression and exploitation.

Even the most spacious argument of duty and *Loka-am graha* (good of the community) proved a little weak to persuade the vacillating Arjun to kill. Emotions and feelings well up in him. Once dead all is at an end either for him or for them. And when such an argument come in answer the Geeta reduces all human beings to an abstraction called the *Atman* (soul) which though encased in the body is apart from it it neither feels nor thinks neither lives nor dies. Sensation, feeling etc., are transitory attributes of the body and the very capacity for them can be overcome and when overcome man attains a state (that of the *Sthiteprajna*) where his actions cease to have any attachment for him or any binding results on him. Even if he kills then he does no sin and since the *Atman* in the killed and killer is neutral and immortal nothing so to say really has happened. Such a man feels no pleasure or pain heat or cold. He has attained liberation from his body even while

* अर्थात् गीता ४ अध्याय १
मा उत्तरम् या ते मनुष्यानि ॥ ४७ ॥ २८
मिति तु वृत्त्यात् । एतम् ॥ १८

living, and after death is not born again to reap interest on his investments in sin or virtue. The whole carnage of the Bharat war was thus dissolved into fiction or mirage.

The principle again was wielded by the ruling class against the toiling masses in the centuries to come in order to disarm the masses of their feelings of protest, their unhappiness and anger. It produced that wonderful legend of Janaka and others like him, where the rich king ate good food but felt no pleasure in his tongue, wore good cloth but was not attached to any feeling about it. So even the toiling slave must feel happy in starvation, control his emotions and reduce his body to a sensationless working machine to discharge the ordained duty. When everyone has attained that stage, poverty and misery vanish, as they lose their meaning for the man. The question of exploitation, slavery, share of product, State and violence then no longer be raised on a social scale, when each individual can get happiness by this simple acrobatics of thought.

The theoretician of the post-Bharat class society was not quite certain of his success in such argument convincing and leading man's Reason to a conduct and to social relations running counter to all human life and feeling. So, like all leaderships of the ruling classes, desiring to uproot the rational personality of the toiling masses and converting them into blind loyalty to the ruling class, he comes to the final advice—"leave every law and injunction to its fate and follow me in devotion". As to the question of eliminating chaos and crisis in the world, the writer holds no hope before his readers and leaves us with the assurance that God will appear from time to time to resolve the crises, thus taking the subject out of the purview of frail humanity. A planless world cannot be planned by social man.

It is not our intention here to go into all the philosophical systems of the *Geeta* or the *Upanishadas*. What we wanted to point out is that the idealist schools of philosophy that we find in *Vedanta* are products of a period when Arya society broke into class contradictions, antagonisms and war. At the same time, we must bear one caution in mind that

* सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं प्रवृत्त । गीता अ. १८-६६

while looking into these systems, one has to separate the honest attempts of thinkers to probe into phenomena and their ideas about it from the use to which such ideas, which conform to and are limited by the social relations of the time are put by the ruling classes for their class interests. Secondly one must remember that since all social law and thinking was then coded into religious systems, the attempts of the revolutionary classes and exploited sections to liberate themselves also found expression in establishing different sects, philosophical systems and religions. One must learn to distinguish the roles of each sect or system in its given epoch in the context of the class struggles of the period. In this also the theoretician of the Bharat war and its aftermath plays a significant social role. While conforming to the fundamental basis of the idealist philosophy of class society he nevertheless attempts a certain compromise to mitigate the hardships of slavery without in any way changing the social relations of the exploiter and exploited. In that the Bhakti school of the Geeta advances a step from the most reactionary ritualists of the slave-owners of the Bharat war period. What was it due to? It was due to the aftermath of the Bharat war. Let us, therefore, look into the aftermath.

Chapter XIV

Slavery Weakens—New Forces, New Stage

THE WORST FEARS expressed by all thinking men of the period and instinctively felt by the common man about the results of war came true. Contrary to the expectations of either side, the war resulted in such a massacre of both the victors and the vanquished, that the winning Pandavas were completely bankrupt at the end of the struggle and almost all the leading men, kings and princes, fine warriors and generals fell on the battle-field. All the States, which participated in the struggle as also the allied *Gana-Samghas* were thoroughly weakened, and shattered by the fierceness of the massacre. The slave-owners' States and the ruling leaders of the *Gana-Samghas* having been weakened, the Naga, Nishada and other tribes got a breathing space, and in order to win back their old positions began to attack the once powerful, much-feared and much-hated Arya *Kulas* and their armies.

The general crisis in the slave-owning States and *Samghas* of the period is evidenced in the fact that this onslaught of the Naga tribes along with others began as a general onslaught on the States of the Gangetic Valley, advancing from the east, west and south. The bankruptcy of the slave-owners is visible in the fact that Dharma had no

money left even to celebrate the victory by performing the *Ashwa Medha* unless some hidden treasures came to his aid.* The celebration of his so-called good deeds excited no enthusiasm in the common afflicted mass of the people who ridiculed the conquerors in their own way. A mouse with half his body turned into gold entered the place of the Pandavas' celebration. Noticing its peculiar body someone asked what it wanted and why only half of his body was golden. The mouse sniffed around and failing to turn his other half into gold turned back and replied that he had become half gold when that part of his body had touched the ground where a poor man had given a few crumbs in charity. But here in spite of all this overflowing riches and food, given to the Brahmins, this place of the slave-owners' celebration had not the power to turn into gold his other half. That was a popular commentary on the virtues of the victorious! Whole sections of the ruling-class *Varnas* were being hurled into poverty and were willing to sell their services to anybody. In places where there was famine and drought the proud ruling-class Brahmins turned to the hated *Chandalas* in their forest retreat to ask for food, and it had become the privilege of the conquered, enslaved *Chandala* to preach morality to the holy *Vishwamitra* of the conquering Aryas not to resort to eating the carcass of a dead dog to preserve his life. The terror of the big States having weakened and the sheer greed for self and power of the ruling classes having been exposed during the war their talk of morality and virtue having been found out as mere screen for grabbing land, slaves and luxuries of life from the toil of others straightforward materialism faced them with its challenge. But the Pandavas true to their class nature betrayed the materialists lest they might really head the disaffected people. But all this could not easily arrest the march of the rising tribes and the internal civil war in the surviving *Gana-Sanghas* grew even more fierce.

* राजदा य चाहि राज निष्ठ य मरिय दे ॥ ॥

राज निराव यूरि राज निष्ठ य मरिय ॥

राजदार निष्ठ यूरि राज निष्ठ य मरिय ॥

* Cf. *Yuktibhāṣa*, chapter 37.

The *Maurala Parva* of the *Mahabharat* and the complaint of Kṛiḥka about his precarious position in his own *Gana-Samgha* of the Yadavas give us the main outlines of the general collapse and ruin.

The Andhak-Vrishni *Samgha* of the Yadavas had generally kept aloof from the war safely ensconced in Dwaravati of the Surashtra region where they had migrated in the face of the attacks of Sisupala and his allies. But that does not mean that the Yadava *Gana* democracy had saved itself from degenerating into a vicious aristocracy. Their *Samgha* was already in the grip of such fierce rivalry of the rich leading families that Krishna, though their elected president, complains against the other leaders that he was finding it difficult to keep the Yadavas on his side. The advice which Narada gives him to preserve his leadership is remarkable. He accused Krishna of not being sufficiently humble and polite and sparing with his purse in giving ample feasts and distributing presents. The inclusion of this item in the methods of winning leadership in a *Gana* shows us how it was fast collapsing under the weight of class cleavage. The *Maurala Parva* tells us that the Yadavas went *en masse* for their usual gay life and feasts, drank, argued and quarrelled over the *Mahabharat* war and the treacherous deeds of some of the participants and came to blows. The already pent-up rivalries of the aristocrats flared up in a general massacre, when the skirmishes were on, the Nagas from the sea attacked the city of the *Gana-Samgha*. In the attack Krishna himself was killed and also the leading Yadavas. This civil war too was so furious that in later language, people used the term "Yadavi" for civil war!

The Pandavas ran to the help of the Andhak-Vrishnis but they failed to save them from the Nagas and others. The terror of the Gangetic States, of the powers of the Kurus and Purus was gone. Arjun complained that in these battles against the Nagas and others, when he reached for his famous weapons, "they would not come to him". Gone was their efficacy. A few families were extricated from the carnage and reached Hastinapur.

But Hastinapur ceased to be the centre of growing power. The Pandavas survived the war for a time and then

went to Heaven, as the *Mahabharat* wants us to believe accompanied by a dog. Parikshit, their grandson, was killed by the Nagas. And it is revealing to find that the Brahmin leader, Kashyapa, who had advance knowledge of the plans of the attack on Parikshit was bought off with gold by Takshaka, the Naga leader. Some sort of respite seems to have been won by his son Janamejaya, whose offensive against the Nagas forced them to a compromise for a time. That closes for us the *Mahabharat* period. A kind of blank, dark period in history follows it, until again the big States of the Gangetic Valley arise on new ground. The gravitating centre of these States is no longer Hastinapur. It is Pataliputra of Magadha.

But slavery by then is on the decline, the serf of the countryside and the artisan of the town, with the merchant at his heel, begin to dominate the scene, with the absolute monarch crowning them all. The half-emancipated half runaway slaves of the slave-owning houses now usher in their philosophy aided by landlord-cum merchant young men, the devotees and disciples of the forerunners of Buddhism. But we do not wish to treat that subject here. We only wish to point out that the results of the *Mahabharat* war so weakened the forces of slavery that it could not continue on its career in the old way. No doubt slavery continued and the slave-owners' States reorganised and grew up again. But their own mutual massacre the rising and resistance of the Nishadas, Nagas etc., could not allow the growth to be so easy and cheap as in the early days. Moreover the Nagas had such a vast hinterland to retire to and find their living that the *harshest forms of slavery* could not hold long. Replenishing the worn-out or lost slave was becoming difficult. Conquests were spreading out beyond the means of the slave-owners' resources and were impoverishing the people. The vastness and fertility of the valleys all around gave the defeated and the runaways enough ground to continue their struggles. Lastly the growing production exchange and trade had brought on the scene that new class—the merchants—who had become an independent power in economic and financial life becoming it's seat in the shelter of the town-capital under the *Indra* of the *Indra* of the

prince, whose strength lay in playing between the town and countryside, between the merchant and the land-and slave-owner

Agriculture, as we said before, had grown on a vast scale. The question of the private ownership of land began to assume a serious aspect. And under the new conditions, stated above, it was becoming difficult to carry it on on the basis of slavery, and the same was the case with handicraft industrial production. The conditions for mitigating slavery and making room for serfdom were ripening. Not a small part in the hastening of this process was played by the Mahabharat war.

It is these conditions that called forth a new attitude to slavery among the law-givers of the exploiting class and their philosophies. It is this which the theoretician of the Geeta in the post-Bharat period proclaims in that famous line where Krishna says. "Even though woman, Vaisya and the Sudra slave are born for slavery, they can obtain salvation in heaven, if they follow me." Thus at the time of the Bharat war, the slave-owners' State had reduced into slavery even the free Arya Vaisya, the great mass of toilers, who were the original proud Visha of early *Gana* communes, and had put them and all womanhood by the side of the Sudra slave. They had no salvation here on earth nor in heaven. In the days of early patriarchal slavery, the slave-owning Brahmin and Kshatriya could marry the slave woman or keep her, and the children could share equally in the property. But the slave as such could not think of liberation nor be allowed to accumulate his own property. Then, as property differentiation became more acute in the Arya *Ganas* themselves and the ruined Vaisya was thrown into the ranks of the slaves, he threatened revolt and civil war. The victorious dictatorship of the slave-owners crushed the opposition of the ruined Vaisya and their allies from the Nishadas-Nagas, and instituted a reign of complete terror. It was in that period that the Arya Vaisya was degraded to the level of the Sudra. The woman was there before. The relations with the slave woman then ceased to have that patriarchal character and the offsprings lost their old status. Whereas formerly under patriarchy they were taken in the

From the free patriarch father, they were now degraded to the *Vatna* of the slave-mother—i.e., their road to partial freedom was closed.

The unconquered or semi-conquered population was too numerous to give peace to the Arya slave-owning houses. The Arya Vaisyas themselves had collapsed from Aryahood to slavery as the class cleavage grew. The productive forces were growing at a rapid rate and demanded new production relations. Exchange trade handicrafts, the merchants and their new social forces demanded first a mitigation of slavery. It was announced in the name of Krishna of the Geeta. His was the fittest name for the job because, as the most popular representative of the biggest *Gana Samgha* that survived the war he could be made the bearer of the slogan of "liberation in heaven" and strike a compromise in which the slave and woman could work on this earth without disturbing the peace of the exploiting class, and reap their wages and liberation in heaven where they were promised equality with their masters! It sounds rather queer in these days—but not so queer! It was a compromise of the slave-owners with new forces, who were heading towards serfdom and the feudal order.

Slavery is the first form of exploitation, the form peculiar to the ancient world. It is succeeded by serfdom in the Middle Ages, and wage-labour in the more recent period. These are the three great forms of servitude characteristic of the three great epochs of civilisation open, and in recent times disguised slavery always accompanies them.

We do not go into the second stage of social development in this treatise. The main purpose of this volume is to show how the primitive commune arose, grew and then collapsed, and how slavery came in with its State based on *Danda* the violent dictatorship of the victorious owners of private property and slavery. The savage who did not know how to produce fire had now grown to vast dimensions occupied continents built towns and kingdoms had developed vast productive forces to yield Nature to his needs had risen from savagery to barbarism and from barbarism to civilisation. He had developed weapons of war and peace art and literature probed Nature to find her laws and see-

rets, from conceptions of millions of spirits, goblins and gods he had learnt to raise the problem of monism, of the particular to the general, of the individual to the universe, of objective world to subjective thinking

But the steps of all these advances were dogged by steps of backward retreat also The pristine commune of barbarians without class conflict, without slavery, greed, property and mutual violence between kin and kin had fallen a prey to slavery, class war, greed and violence of brother against brother

“Since civilisation is founded on the exploitation of one class by another class, its whole development proceeds in a constant contradiction Every step forward in production is at the same time a step backwards in the position of the oppressed class, *i.e.*, of the great majority Whatever benefits some, necessarily injures the others, every fresh emancipation of one class is necessarily a new oppression for another class ... And if among the barbarians, as we saw, the distinction between rights and duties could hardly be drawn, civilisation makes the difference and antagonism between them clear even to the dullest intelligence by giving one class practically all the rights and the other class practically all the duties

“But that should not be What is good for the ruling class must also be good for the whole society, with which the ruling class identifies itself Therefore, the more civilisation advances, the more it is compelled to cover the evils it necessarily creates with the cloak of love and charity, to palliate them or to deny them —in short, to introduce a conventional hypocrisy which was unknown to earlier forms of society and even to the first stages of civilisation, and which culminates in the pronouncement The exploitation of the oppressed class is carried on by the exploiting class simply and solely in the interests of the exploited class itself, and if the exploited class cannot see it and even grows rebellious, that is the basest ingratitude to its benefactors, the exploiters!”

But the cleavage of society into classes has not existed from eternity, nor the State.

"There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the State or State power. At a definite stage in economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the State became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The State inevitably falls with them. The society which organises production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole State machinery where it will then belong--into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze axe." (Engels.)

But this museum of humanity's past can only be built finally when a majority of the countries of the world have built classless society and communism. The world has already entered that period.

A P P E N D I X

Matriarchal Gens in Mahabharat from whom proceeds
world-population

From Matriarch

- 1 Aditī
- 2 Dītī
- 3 Dānu
- 4 Kala
- 5 Vinata
- 6 Kadru
- 7 Muni
- 8 Pradha
- 9 Kapila
- 10 Krittika
- 11 Sinhika
- 12 Puloma
- 13 Vasu
- 14 Vishwa
- 15 Marutmatī
- 16 Bhanu
- 17 Muhurta
- 18 Sadhya

The Ganas of

| |
|-------------|
| Adityas |
| Daityas |
| Danavas |
| Kalakeyas |
| Vainateyas |
| Kadraveyas |
| Mouneyas |
| Pradheyas |
| Kapilas |
| Kartikeyas |
| Sainhīkeyas |
| Paulomas |
| Vasavas |
| Vishwa |
| Marutmantas |
| Bhanavas |
| Muhurtas |
| Sadhyas |

And these ganas later are shown as the progenitors of
famous men and gana-feuds in the Mahabharat.

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ERRATA

Page 50 footnote, line 7 read 'Radhamadhavachampoo" for "Radhamadhava."

Page 50 footnote line 7 read प्रधानस्याति for प्रधानस्याति

Page 59 footnote line 1 read सर्वेषु लोकानाम् for सर्वेषाम् लोकानाम्

Page 59 footnote line 5 read शूद्रस्ते for शूद्रस्ते

Page 59 footnote, line 6 read ५८-१५ for परस्परम् भावयन्त

Page 59 footnote, line 7 read .. for —

Page 67 footnote line 8 read समुपपत्ते for समुत्पत्ते

Page 88 footnote line 10 read शान्ति for शान्ति

Page 71 footnote last line read शान्ति for शान्ति

Page 75 footnote line 1 read शान्ति for शान्ति

Page 78, footnote line 2 read प्रबन्धार्थम् for प्रबन्धार्थम्

Page 156 last but one line Shastrā* — footnote on p. 157

